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THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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From the Spanish of

Domingo F. Sarmiento;

With a Brief Biographical Sketch of the Author,

By

Emily Camilla Griffith.

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in the Graduate School of Arts
and Sciences, Duke University.

1928-11
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The Life of Abraham Lincoln

from the Spanish of

Lorenzo F. Sarmiento:

with a brief biographical

sketch of the author,

By Emily Zemilla Griffith.

First American from the

Spanish Edition of 1899 Edited

by L. Belin Sarmiento and

Published in Buenos Aires as

Volume CXVII of the Works of

L. F. Sarmiento

Translator's Preface

The author of a recent biography of Lincoln has said: "He who adds another to the already long list of biographies of Abraham Lincoln should be ready to give a reason for the faith that is within him." By making another "Life of Lincoln" available to more people in North America I am adding to this list.

For the last few years interest in Latin American affairs has been steadily growing and at the present time has reached a high peak. Possibly, we do not understand Latin Americans; they do not understand us. Hence, getting the viewpoint of one of their most eminent statesmen concerning the critical period in the history of our nation that Lincoln exemplifies is of extreme interest to me and I hope may be of some value.

This "Life of Lincoln" written in 1865 without the perspective of our own recent biographies ranks favorably with them, and truly it may be said to be an able work.

Sarmiento states definitely his purpose in writing the "Life of Lincoln" in his preface which I shall not restate here, but will add incidents in connection with the writing of this book and the author's purpose as found in "The Life of Sarmiento" by J. G. Guerra.

In 1864 Sarmiento was sent by the Argentine Government to the American* Congress in Torre-Tagle palace in Chorrillos where he remained for four months, and while he was there he received a note from his government ordering him to the United States on a diplomatic mission.

The period of his arrival in New York May 15, 1865, may rightly be called "a solemn moment" in the life of our nation.

*The reference here is to South America alone.



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Leaving New York, he went at once to Washington, but on finding that the credentials conferring on him authority to act as Argentine minister had been lost, he decided to travel through other States of the Union while waiting for new credentials to arrive. "In Washington he was present at the review of 300,000 men from the Army of the Potomac and the West" on the return to their homes. Soon afterwards he went to Pittsburgh and Richmond.

It was not until November that he was received officially as minister, and we are told that "Sarmiento's mission in the United States was not properly diplomatic, but rather calculated for the purpose of promoting material interests of Argentina, and moreover, in order to give the Plenipotentiary a field of study in harmony with his inclinations and preparation."* Hence Sarmiento lived in New York and went to Washington only when diplomatic duties made it necessary.

He was in the United States for three years and made interesting studies in "political matters, popular education, and constitutional law..... While other members of the diplomatic corps were playing cards in Washington.... he was studying and working in New York or was traveling with profit through other States."

The same year that he arrived he published his "Life of Lincoln." "The object of this publication" Guerra says, "was to provide for the Spanish countries a brief and substantial summary, for the popular reader, of a life so worthy of imitation as that of Lincoln." He also states that at the same time Sarmiento was trying to show the good points of the "strong governments" and was holding up the

*Sarmiento Su Vida i Sus Obras, J. G. Guerra, page 239

**Ibid, page 239

United States as an example to be followed by his own country.*

Concerning this mission Mrs. Dorace Mann says: "During his late residence in the United States, Colonel Sarmiento has given all his leisure time to the subject of education and to the preparation of papers descriptive of American industry and American progress, and of valuable works, to send home to his country."

One of these "valuable works" was the "Life of Abraham Lincoln". When one stops to consider the turmoil of political affairs in the South American States at that time it is not strange that Sarmiento should have been particularly interested in Lincoln because of his policies in handling affairs at this critical moment in our governmental history, but it is evident that he was also interested in the personal character of Lincoln. In a measure the two were kindred souls. Both were born in a country in the throes of development in the midst of circumstances adverse to the moulding of weaker natures; both possessed keen and vigorous intellects, and generous views; both had great tenacity of purpose and strenuously opposed tyranny; and although duty made it necessary that they take active parts in military affairs, both were eminently men of peace. They were placed in circumstances not wholly unlike. Sarmiento's government at this very time was facing a problem similar to that of the United States--the forming of a unified nation from more or less rebellious provinces. Sarmiento himself had faced the question of the use of martial law. Hence it is not to be

* I find in "The Republics of Latin America" by James and Martin that this book was intended for use in the elementary schools in Argentina

expected that he should dwell with emphasis on Lincoln's conception and handling of such problems.*

That Sarmiento knew Lincoln personally, I can find no proof, but he did visit the United States in 1849. Lincoln was in Congress at this time and it is possible that the South American visitor met him. At any rate it is a safe assertion that Lincoln's views on the American War received his sanction.

For Sarmiento's "Life of Lincoln," which contains his best speeches as far back as the Mexican War, is evidence of the author's intense interest in the life and work of this truly great statesman.

José Faustino Sarmiento was born at San Juan (Argentina), February 15, 1811, the year after the Argentine Republic had begun its struggle for independence from Spain. His father, Don José Clemente Sarmiento had been a slave in his youth, later he was a scholar, and then became interested in learning and commerce. In the revolution for independence, he took a very active part. In 1815 he made a collection to relieve the misery of Beltrán's army, in addition to loaning the government his own small savings; and it was he, who was dispatched to San Juan to carry the news of victory, after the battle of Chacabuco. His mother, Paula Alvarado, a descendant of a Spanish chief, but a Catholic, was a woman of invincible personal virtue. Brought up in poverty by her father and her ^{?husband} "efficient in that mechanical constancy that makes fortune," by her own labor, and by charity, she reared and educated her children.

As we are told by Colonel (continued on next page)

* At this time Sarmiento wrote articles on states' rights which were published in "El Nacional" in Buenos Aires.

Sarmiento himself, his father inspired by the new ideas which had come in with the Revolution, had an unconquerable hatred for material labor', and resolved that his son should never take a spade in his hand.....and he continues; "My hands exercised no other forces than those required by my plays and pastimes."

Reared in poverty as he was, Sarmiento entered the school of La Patria at the age of five and remained nine years without missing a day. The influence of this school and the able leadership of Don Ignacio Rodriguez inspired Sarmiento with a high estimate of primary education. Of it he says: "If I should express all my thoughts, I should say that the School of La Patria, in San Juan, associated in my mind with the recollections of the only form of education with which I was acquainted, went forth with me from this province, and accompanied me in all my wanderings. In Chili it took the form of normal schools; in Europe I connected it with the study of legislation; in the United States with the spectacle of its wonderful results, of its temple schoolhouses, and of the prominent place it holds among the institutions of the country." *

On leaving La Patria, Sarmiento went to the seminary of Loreto in Cordoba, for the purpose of studying Latin, but returned without entering, as the revolution of Carita had deposed the institution of its Latin teacher. A little later he began the study of mathematics and surveying under M. Barreau, engineer of the province of Buenos Aires, and the same year he studied Latin at San Luis with the clergyman Oro. A year later, 1826, he was summoned by the government to be sent to the college of the Moral Sciences.

In 1827, he entered a commercial house as an apprentice but in his own words "was sad for many days, and, like Franklin...! I took an aversion to the road that lead to fortune."

The common-place life of a commercial house did not interest him. He missed San Luis; he missed Don Oro and his teachings.

"I was alone in the world in the midst of parcels of condiments and pieces of chintz, which I was to measure out by the yard to those who came to buy them. But there must be books," he said, "which treat specially of all things and teach them to children, and if one understands what he reads, he can learn them without the assistance of a master." From that time on he had a great passion for reading. He read, at every spare moment, every book that fell into his hands, two of which were the "Life of Cicero" and the "Life of Franklin." Of the latter he said: "No book has ever done me more good. The 'Life of Franklin' was to me what 'Plutarch's Lives' were to Rousseau, Henry IV,and so many others. I felt myself to be Franklin,--and why not? I was very poor like him, I studied like him, and following in his footsteps, I might one day come, like him, to be a doctor "ad honorem!" and to make for myself a place in letters and American politics."*

He continued his habit of study throughout life even during the revolution between the Federals and Unitarios. While a prisoner in Mendoza, he took advantage of an opportunity to study French with a soldier of Napoleon, and six weeks from the beginning he had made such progress as to have translated twelve volumes, but it was not until fourteen years afterward, on visiting France, that he learned to pronounce the language.

His mother had wanted him to be a clergyman, and his father

*Hann, Life of Sarmiento, pp. 15, 316

desired that he follow a military career; but circumstances decided the matter for him, and in such a manner that he came nearer to fulfilling the desire of his father.

In 1827 a revolution broke out in the Argentine Republic between the Federal and Unitario parties, and with it Barmiento's public career began on the side of the Unitario, fighting for "liberty to all as well as to himself."

At the beginning of the revolution he was an approved instructor of recruits, and later second director of the military academy, "to which office he was assigned for his knowledge of cavalry maneuvers and tactics due to his peculiar habits of study."

It is impossible to follow here the details of his life during the turbulent years of this period in the history of the Argentine Nation. He spent much of the time in prison and in exile from his native land. While an exile he taught school in Chile, and traveled in Europe and the United States studying their educational systems. He gives an account of his travels in a book entitled "Viajes por Europa, Africa i America", published in 1849.

Another book of that same year, "De la Educacion Popular" is a summary of his observations and data that he had compiled concerning education.

In England, Barmiento found the English reprint of Horace Mann's Report of his educational tour in Europe. Hence, on arriving in the United States he sought out Horace Mann and through his aid he became acquainted with the common school system of Massachusetts which on his return to Chile he introduced there with great success. He is known in his own country

and abroad as a distinguished educator.

A letter written while on his second visit to the United States in 1865 illustrates just how important a part he believed popular education played in the life of a nation. He says: "With some diffidence, I will venture to make one observation with respect to the United States themselves. The greatest antagonism between the Southern States and the Northern has come, in my judgment, from the Southern following the same plan as that of ancient society in Europe and South America, and the Northern advancing in new and peculiar paths. The system of education in the South, limited to universities and colleges, was that of England, France, Spain, Italy, and the South America of today, leaving the majority of the people without intellectual preparation and development. The visible sign of the advanced North American system of government is the 'Common School,' and if ever the South shows the same visible sign its regeneration will be secured."

As previously mentioned, he came to the United States again in 1864, this time as Argentine minister. But he continued his studies on popular education, and also made investigations concerning various other topics, namely, the construction of railroads, the status of foreigners, and the tariff laws. In 1848, in addition to his study of popular education, he had been especially interested in written constitutions, and a "strong government upheld by a sovereign people."

It is worthy of note that while acting as Argentine minister to our government Sarmiento advocated the drawing up of an arbitration treaty between Argentina and the United States, with the Supreme Court of the United States as the arbitral tribunal, of which he said it is "a body of sufficient prestige and respectability to inspire the full confidence of all civilized nations."

In 1868 while still in the United States he was unexpectedly elected president of Argentina. During his presidency he promoted education in

various ways. He signed a law which provided for the establishment of National Normal Schools; reorganized the curricula of secondary schools and advocated the introduction of methods and teachers from the United States into Argentina.

Economic conditions were also improved during his administration. Railroads were built from Tucumán to Córdoba, and from Concordia to Mercedes. Telegraph lines were extended. Commerce with England, France, and the United States increased and with it the public revenues. Immigration from Spain, France, and Italy was encouraged. The census taken in 1869 shows that of the 1,745,553 inhabitants of Argentina 211,993 were foreigners.

Professor J. S. Robertson says that perhaps the most significant political development in Argentina since the battle of Pavón has been the steady growth in power of the national government. It may be said that Sarmiento contributed much toward this development.

After reading the story of his life and works one may readily agree with the appraisal of him which says: "Patriotism is the virtue that Sarmiento best understood and practiced. Instead of continually flattering national vanity and inciting the evil passions of the rabble, he considered, at all times, the true necessities of his country, in his different decrees, for the purpose of banishing the evils and opening wide the door for the entrance of progress."*

His administration ended in 1874 but to the day of his death he did not cease to be interested in state affairs. He did hold several public offices after retiring from the presidency, but his chief work during this period was in the literary field.

*Guerra, "Sarmiento su Vida y sus Obras," p. 223

Soon after his presidency ended, he was elected senator from San Juan, and in 1875 he became Director General of Schools of the Province of Buenos Aires. In 1879 he was appointed minister of the Interior and a few years later National Superintendent of Education. In addition he took an active part in elections, and important state questions. He was, also, sent on various commissions by his government.

There is only space to mention his literary work of this period. For a while, he was editor of "El Nacional."

Later, he founded and edited, "El Censor", in addition to writing numerous articles for other South American publications. One of his books of this period deserves special mention, "Conflicto i Armonias de las Razas en America". In this pamphlet expresses the idea that English colonization was superior to Spanish colonization, and attributes much of the internal disturbances and the slow development of South America to that cause. He also states that the civil society of the United States is a marvellous organization. Guerra tells us that the work was not well received in South America.*

A few years before his death he was compelled to leave Argentina on account of his health and went to Asuncion in Paraguay.

Here he spent most of his time writing for the press of Buenos Aires and Asuncion, and it was there that he passed away on the night of September 10, 1888; "A favorite son of the heroic times of America, a soldier of progress, a herald of free thinking, a champion of reform and of the well being of the people, and one of the most honourable politicians of the Argentine Republic!"

Emily Camille Griffith

*Blanco-Fombona defends the writing of this book in "Grandes Escritores de America," pp 150-158

Author's Introduction

I

We have directed rather than executed the work of adapting a life of President Lincoln to the language spoken in South America, by choosing from the various articles which are in print and extracting from them, as pertinent, official documents given at length and adding details or notes necessary for the correct understanding of the incidents because of the distance of the scene of those events. Truly no one is able with propriety to call himself the author of a true biography of one who has reached through the vicissitudes of public life to high a position as Lincoln. Such persons are like transparent canvases with images legible from a distance, thanks to the proper internal light. Born in the shadow of the forest, Lincoln's private life from the time he arrived at the age of manhood consists, as far as the public is concerned, of discourses in popular meetings; and his public life in parliamentary orations, which later were incorporated in decrees, messages and proclamations. Even his death may be considered the ultimate act of a life consecrated to the public cause.

A criminal hand reaped by political passions struck him down in the midst of the solicitation of triumph, and awarded him the honors of martyrdom. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States is the last soldier who died in that great war.

His story has become fixed in the daily papers or in the official records of public documents. It is not even permissible to correct such evidences. He who wishes to give today and tomorrow

to them most of it himself to a compilation of them by order of
 Acton, which Providence has put the "little corner book" to this
 book written by me in the fifty-six years of his life.

Hence concerning the plain tone and without literary pro-
 tection, in speaking of a person so plain in language and
 manner, this compilation was attempted to avoid the criticism
 that a North American writer would have concerning one of the literary life
 published in France. "In external appearance," it is said of
 this book, "there is nothing which distinguishes it from the
 volume which the French press published by the thousands; but
 on opening it and reading it, what a shock must it have to
 the spirit of an American, to encounter that life of our noble
 President! At times this reader becomes so provoked that one
 wonders at the identity of Lincoln with the hero of the
 romantic French author, and this does not arise from any
 inaccuracy of the facts which refer to the life of President
 Lincoln or from denigration of citizens opinions concerning his
 character, but simply from the poor color and manner which
 the original ^{French} ~~author~~ ^{gives} to the story. He is not more
 to recommend being witty, even when he attempts to be serious
 and he goes on to tell us of his own life without
 enjoying himself. And this reader thinks that he should
 write sincerely, with no less an earnestness as to the case of
 President Lincoln in his witty French manner."

The name of Abraham Lincoln came to French readers interested
 with the narration of the extraordinary incidents of a dramatic
 war, which sold in response the entire American press. We were a great
 distance from this drama but the marvelous incidents of domestic

action among all the peoples of the world is possible and we
 to follow closely and to know the results of all their
 activities, causes and results; of the position of the language in
 India, the inscription of Pausanias in ancient Calcutta; and
 of the history of Volturno and Augustus in Italy, when the Italians
 returned to reclaim for the second time, fifteen centuries after-
 wards, their right to the romantic city.

Since we are nearer than the rest of the world, it is of
 interest to us to understand the evolution which the United States
 has made in its development.

Its institutions and racial advancement are on the itinerary
 which is traced for us because of the similarity of colonial origin,
 the resemblance of sentiment, and even the great rivers which flow
 from the same, the same from the same source as from the source
 of the Tiber. No ever, we are at the beginning of the journey
 and may hesitate and get lost since the road is not well marked;
 otherwise one may still wonder that the descendants of the
 patriotic and heroic of America are encouraged to wander without
 end, who in their dispersion restored the serene republic of
 Venice restored the last centuries on the banks of the Adriatic,
 Genoa, Pisa, Rome, and Florence, who restored the literature, and
 ancient fine arts, and are the modern commerce and industry, till
 the genius of the Latin race, Columbus and Cabot crossed the ocean
 without mishap. These other Americans discovered a new world,
 where there will be completed, in the democratic, liberal insti-
 tutions, the heroic attempt begun on the banks of the Tiber,
 and whose goal is now nearer than was thought four years ago.

II

In the life of Lincoln the affinities of existence between both Americas are encountered; and from the events which are narrated in connection with it forceful lessons and useful experiments for our own government may be deduced.

Unjust or extremely faulty are the governments and publicists of Europe when they reproach South America for its irregularities and bloody contests. They blame her [Spanish America] for existing conditions and demand that she remedy in thirty years the errors of three centuries which were bequeathed to her of colonization.

The United States, free from the beginning from the heavy burden of dynasties and noblemen, continued in peace after the War of Independence.

From hereditary English liberties the new nation developed a government of its own making the following additions, written constitutions, the separation of Church and State, universal education, and land laws, which placed within reach of each new generation its share of the public lands.

The Spanish colonies, off-spring of the old stock of the European oak, came to the family of nations from 1825 on, during the most perplexing and gloomy age that Europe had passed through.

While the colonies were in the power of Philip II and the Inquisition, they sought in vain to free themselves from the demon of backwardness, which cried aloud from the depths of their souls. On establishing independence, South America, giving way to external impulses, since it was the historical epoch of the emancipation of the colonies, turned its eyes toward Europe in search of mentors for the purpose of organizing new governments. Where

were they to find an emperor? Should they invent in derision a privileged aristocracy for the purpose of governing as England had done? Should they follow France who then claimed to be the light of the world in its bloody revolutions that came to naught when the Empire was formed? Should they follow the glorious Emperor whose countenance had been furrowed by the rays of the sun in all the capitals of Europe, but whose lamentations in the neighboring island of Saint Helena might be heard from the American coasts, where as Prometheus he suffered for his daring attempts to create institutions that emanated from the will of a single man? Should they follow the restored Bourbons into exile with the constitution which they had granted? Finally there is Louis Philippe appearing as bourgeois king, conciliating tradition and progress, hereditary monarchy and popular liberty. Curiously and they began to study this fine model when Louis Philippe and his liberty in succession gradually landed where had gone the legitimate Charles X, the great Emperor, Robespierre the incorruptible, and Louis XVI, the expiatory victim of the wrongs of the monarchy.

The Republic is the definitive government of humanity, the expectant world was told; but it was soon afterwards that it was only an error of the press; for the Republic is not the conclusive government of the Latin race but the Imperial democracy, absolute, military. Liberty is left for the Nations on this side and beyond the seas. The Latin race carries in its very essence imperial institutions.

And now they have begun to apply these doctrines to America, approaching the sinister eclipse which threatens to obscure forever the brilliance of the liberties and prosperity of the great American Republic.

It was believed at the beginning of the revolt that the sovereign people, artisans of railroads, telegraph systems, and airships, and very competent for the purpose of accumulating wealth by patient industry or fearless "go ahead," would recede always as at Bull Run when they came face to face with death. It was also believed that a Nation formed by the vote of the people without the superior law that comes from the hereditary monarch or from the iron hand of the conqueror, would be torn asunder as the tail of Encke's comet, and its career would be scattered through the pages of history. Only monarchies were, according to the masters of the day, regular planets in the immutable order of the economic universe. Already the separation of the North and the South was delayed in the short-lived attempt of the United States. The aristocracies alone have the tenacity of purpose and the spirit "de suite" which characterized Rome, Venice, and England in the execution during centuries, of a fixed plan. The United States and in them the Republic, deprived of those safe guards against conflagration of the democracies necessarily, turbulent and flexible must succumb to the experiment, the fallacious promises of a short and robust infancy, remaining with the proximate end scattered.

Such were the official oracles of the ancient science of the State.

That which really happened, how and why it happened, the reader may see in the life of Lincoln, the principal actor in the drama, told and explained by him in public documents, with the simplicity of a hero unimpaired of himself, and he tells of those terrible incidents of his combat with the monster as if those things would have happened even though his terrible strength had

not taken part. We shall see, also, how without violence to English liberties or without contradicting American principles which have been built on them—what a magnificent edifice made for peace, the primary object of government—the Executive Power of the Republic found in the very arsenal of war armour—plating and iron gauntlets for the handling of worthless slugs or shot without hurling itself on the points or wounding with the hot irons.

What, in substance, was the question which three million vigilant soldiers have debated by fire and blood for four years? They disputed inch by inch the territory on both sides of the Potomac; the North opposing the South; on the seas the Monitor the Merrimac; the Parrot the Torpedo; placing the cunning defeat before the fruitless victory. They even produce a Grant against Lee, and tired of heaping up mountains for the assault of Richmond, the Titans circle around and undermine the feudal fortress from the rear, proclaiming, at last, amid thunder and lightning the abolition of human slavery from the face of the earth.

Although slavery as an institution was the effective cause of the war, and its extinction the apparent result, back of this great exterior faction of the political body, there were other points more vital for the preservation of the Republic. It is important to know this in order to understand the great spectacle.

III

The slavery of the helot is the first visible manifestation of this sentiment of human weakness, in the hostile contact of primitive people. Even more primitive is the cannibal, devouring in a terrible feast the conquered, voe victis.

To see pious priests and even exemplary bishops plead for slavery as a divine institution caused much astonishment to people of the North.

However, it is necessary to agree to this. Christianity certainly contains, by implication, in the heart of its doctrine all human liberty; the liberty of thought, in as much as it was a religious doctrine; civil liberty, since it constituted equality of men before God; the liberty of the inferior races, since it made them spring from the father common to the human species. But its influence is neither general nor direct.

With the dogma of original sin there came from the Hebrew tradition the condemnation of the race of Canaan to eternal servitude. The two great acts of the creation, according to Genesis, bring these two condemnations. The serpent tempts Eve who bequeathes to her descendants poverty and ignorance; the product of the vine intoxicates Noah, the second Adam, and Canaan, by his having mocked the intoxicated, is damned, his descendants doomed to slavery.*

When in the early centuries of the church corruption was practiced piously, or the giving up of worldly property, little

* The reference is to Genesis IX-20-27

was said or done for the abolition of the slave, as the barbarians returned in slavery to the Roman conquerors. In the feudal era of the middle ages priests and abbots took the same position as kings and barons, having no scruples in maintaining the sanctuaries by the work of slaves. On dispersing these clouds from whence the world came regenerated, Columbus, the last of the crusaders and the most exalted Christian, carried the Indians away to his home, in order to show them to Spain, among nettled porrets and other rare animals, as trophies of his immortal victory over the mysterious ocean, and sold them as slaves. The saintly bishop of Chiapas, moved by compassion for the Indians which perish in slavery by the millions, himself discloses the broad stream of human skeletons that line the bottom of the ocean between Africa and America by the negro slave trade. The abolition of slavery reaches then into the conscience even to the innermost recess of the Caucasian race; but it does not defend her whom Noah cursed.*

The Pilgrim Fathers, who disembarked at Plymouth and who believed themselves the highest expression of the spirit of primitive Christianity, neither said nor did anything to erase this original stain from human story, because they believed it written by the pen of Jehovah in the Bible. The decisions of the English courts show for a long time the same respect for the sacred text; and it is only in the name of civil law, when that has fortified itself

* The author refers again to Genesis IV. 25-27

* The reference is to the Somerset Case, 1772. (Translator's note)

** I do not understand why the author gives the reference in this way. Possibly a typographical error has been made. According to the King James Version of the Bible, he quotes Exodus XX 20-21. (Translator's note)

by the conquest of English liberties, that finally a Judge declares the slavery of man is not reconcilable with the declaration of Rights contained in the Magna Carta.*

The strange explanation that was suggested to the Bishop of Natal by the positive letter of the sacred text concerning slavery is known. It is, also, known how great was the confusion produced in the conscience of the converted negro when Bishop Colenso translated into Zulu the twenty-first and twenty-second verses** of Exodus: "And if a man smite his servant, or his maid with a rod and he die under his hand; he shall surely be punished. Notwithstanding if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished; for he is his money." The money of the southern planter is his negroes.

The Roman committee has acted most fittingly in view of their relationship to slavery. The Committee took a stone from the tomb of Servius Tullius buried beneath the debris of twenty-four centuries and wrote on it this Latin inscription:

"Abrahamo Lincolnio"
Region. Federata. Americ. Presidi. II
Hunc Ex. Servii Tulli Argere Lapidem
Ivo Vtriusque
Libertatis Adsertoris Fortis
Memoria Conjugator
Civis Romani,
D.
A MDCCCLV.**

* The Roman citizens dedicated to Abraham Lincoln, President (in his second term) of the federal American region, this stone extracted from the tomb of Servius Tullius, in which there is united the memory of both strong defenders of liberty, 1865."

It is known that Rome was originally surrounded by walls which were repaired by Servius Tullius; and in proportion as the future dominator of the ancient world grew, it traced out for itself a new and wider circuit.

The wall of Servius Tullius was encountered and reinforced in recent excavations on Monte Aventino, at a place called Termini; the tomb was verified near Vincolo Gate. From that venerable relic from the foundations of Rome, the Patriotic Committee slowly broke off a piece two metres and forty-nine centimetres high, three metres and thirty-six centimetres thick, and

engraving on one its faces the cited inscription, sent it to America to the Capitol of the Great Republic, as a token of its fate, and a symbolical bond of the continuation of the institutions founded by the Romans, detained in their natural development by the resistance of the patricians, interrupted by Caesar, and continued five centuries afterwards in the United States.

(Author's Note)

In order to supplement the traditional brevity of the inscription, in the letter of transmission of this monument to President Johnson, the Committee added:

"Lincoln died for the abolition of slavery, and the preservation of the national union, as Servius Tullius was a victim of a murder fostered by the patricians who desired the oppression of the common people and the perpetuation of slavery. In the two hemispheres twenty-four centuries apart, both were benefactors of the people, restoring to the slave the dignity of men.

May this ancient memorial foretell eternal liberty for you, and proximate redemption for us."

VI

A graver question than that of slavery as an institution was brought into the innermost recesses of the Republic. The common people not being the property of any one; the off-spring not being constrained without limit by the parents; it might be inferred that nations founded by the spontaneous and free consent of the people who compose them, should be able to dissolve freely, when any part of them should desire to separate. Nevertheless history does not furnish an example of those voluntary arbitrations. European monarchies, until a short time ago were made and destroyed by the marriage among sovereign princes who take away

their possessions (entire nations) as a dowry. Conquest changes the boundaries frequently, but concerning this the will of the people is far naught.

Today public law in Europe tends toward giving as a staple basis to the nationalities a common language in continuous boundaries; the Italian war and the result of the one in Denmark seem to sanction this principle. With certain admissions, in a small way, of consent or popular sentiment discernible seemingly by the outcome of the battles. Should a Republic founded on popular sovereignty dissolve, as a business firm whose partners could not agree? It seems that nations should be considered uniting before the eyes of Providence for human advancement, and for the realization of their purposes. A large nation that breaks itself into atoms or fragments necessarily brings a great disturbance to world economy.

How great a disaster followed the disappearance of Carthage judging by the fact that three centuries afterwards it was still the design of Roman genius to fill up the open abyss, re-establishing the Punic City, even restoring it to the position of colonizer and trader!

This question which interests all Republics was being agitated thirty years ago by Calhoun and the nullifiers; finally, it appears in the horizon, as a turbulent cloud of irrespressible conflict. The error of the transaction in the matter of issues consists in counting on the reaction remaining tranquilly in its place so long as the question does not advance moderately. When the issue turns from this error is when it

finds itself surrounded and must fight, not for advancement, but for life. Thus it happened in the United States. The terrible struggle ended. And penetrating the innermost mysteries of the South one finds the true cause of antagonism between the South and the North, which grew more hostile at the same time that the latter made more advances in modern life. The South with its slaves was like the geological strata immediately underneath the top soil; it was intermediate between Europe and America; the natural descent from South America to North America. The people on the Florida border were a conglomerate mass; Florida was Spanish; Louisiana and Mississippi were French; Texas was still Mexican. Then in the Convention of 1788* which considered the constitution of the United States, a certain question was under discussion the following argument was used: *(nothing omitted continued on next page)*

* 1787

Virginia wants it; it will be displeasing to Virginia:" and things were done or not according to these impulses or restrictions to the will of the rest. For a long time Virginia furnished the Presidents, the South the ministers, senators, and admirals. The life of the Roman was devoted wholly to the business of law, by exclusive consecration. This is possible where there are slaves on whose shoulders the burden of subsistence is placed. Besides the slaves, common whites or poor whites were found in the South. They held a position similar to that of the descendants of Spaniards in South America, who were called "ganchos", "rancheros", "hombres". In the South, the primary school was not within reach of poor whites, like Johnson, who is now President. Banks were not so widely diffused as in the North; factories, except the cotton gins or sugar refineries did not belch forth clouds of smoke in order to blemish the clearness of that warm radiant atmosphere.

The owner of slaves boasted of the nobleness of his sentiments, and he was probably right. These diverse social levels carried noble sentiments to the highest degree. The masters must have been gentlemen, gallant, obstinate in design, apt in the government of the Republic, since their own household was a government without the natural bond of race: he who commands very high and he who obeys very low; becoming strong by the custom, law, and order, two whites against two hundred slaves. This is the typical Roman. That was the character of the English aristocracy that dethroned the Stuarts. How much must they not have despised the inhabitant of the North, commercial, industrial, plebeian, harvenu, Irish and German emigrants; all equally at bay as the foreigner is concerned; without great names of Washington,

Jefferson, and Madison; the inferior wheel of the governmental machinery of which the Presidents, Senators, and Representatives of the South were the mainspring.

Nevertheless, the North with all the forces of the Republic of the nineteenth century was advancing at the same time; by means of schools, machinery, immigration, factories, enterprises, and its uniformity. The tide was rising, rising, as though it would reach the foot of the castles of colonial feudalism, and exceed the level which had done such marvels in the North; and like the Roman tribune, in its time it would claim a part in the priesthood, since it had a nominal place in the consulate. Concerning the question of slavery all mankind would protect Lincoln with their approbation; and the preponderance of wealth and number of inhabitants would insure the result which is always attained by heroism, that is, to conquer at last with the greater pecuniary resources and the greater loss of blood.

Thus the stage was set when by a final development of the sentiment of the uniformity of the North against the expansion of the slavery of the South (because the principles clashed only when they were exaggerated) two men appear in the political arena who succeeded in concentrating round about them those immense scattered forces and in bringing them by the election to the assault of the capital, from where almost always the northern candidates had been set apart as less worthy.

Lincoln is seen coming with the axe on his shoulder, the symbol of the laborer that conquers the soil. He comes from the innermost recesses of the forests of Kentucky, a pioneer of the desert, endowed with the genius of the builder, which is the delight of the type that Cooper portrays in his novels: "Leather

"Stockings", "Long Rifle", "The Pathfinder". The other is a young tailor who comes from the heart of the South as a living protest against the condition that slavery imposes upon the poor whites who form a class intermediate between the slave and the master.

The abolitionist party with Boston, the American Athens, as its headquarters, with New England as its recognized guard, libellously raises, with Mrs. Beecher Stowe, that great shout of the redemption of the Negro race, which is heard throughout the world, when the cry came from the soul of a woman.

Lincoln comes on the scene and from the first day has the sentiment of a caudillo; encouraging the formation of the Republican Party, in opposition to the Democratic Party, which for years had been directing public affairs. Lincoln put aside at the door of his home in Springfield the axe of the wood-cutter, he had made of himself a lawyer, orator, and legislator; absorbing into his nature as a sponge those essences of civilization, government, and of liberty, that are floating diluted in the atmosphere of the United States, and are concentrated daily in four thousand newspapers, and in thousands of books and leaflets that popularize the knowledge of one, the experience of another, the result of science or of its application everywhere. From the woods he had brought a trust in Providence, a feeling of the harmony of the laws of the universe more visible in the heart of nature, as a powerful protector of the weak, than amidst the noise of the cities. From his country life there came to him the knowledge of the peculiarities of the masses, and the assortment of imagery with which he would make clear and vivid the dry deductions of logic. From the study of law he obtained the strategy of controversy; from the Illinois legislature the custom

of parliamentary debate; from the "jury" the practical knowledge of the laws; and from public meetings the inspirations of politics.

His first words for cheering the ardor of the abolitionists are that he believes slavery was fundamentally an injustice and a political evil; but that the promulgation of abolitionist doctrines tends rather toward aggravating than diminishing the evil. However, when he saw that there was a disciplined army of opinions that was decided on action, in his famous New York speech,* this John who comes out of the wilderness, exclaims:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand.....I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.....It will all become one thing or the other.....The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail, if we stand firm. Wise counsels may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but sooner or later, the victory is sure to come."

V

The hour of combat has at last been sounded. To Jerusalem! On entering congress he attacks the policy of Southern expansion by the conquest of Mexico, and his sense of justice toward other nations was revealed in that oration more finished than was his general style, which was ordinarily clumsy. It reminds one of an oak felled by an axe blow by blow; it is disturbed, the leaves tremble, it totters and falls with a crash. There was in the

*The quotation cited below is found in Lincoln's speech of June 16, 1858, delivered at Springfield, Illinois, at the close of the Republican State Convention by which he had been named as their candidate for United States Senator.--Works of Lincoln, Nicolay & Hay, vol. 240-251 (Translator's note)

discourse the ingenuous shrewdness of Sancho, depository of ordinary truths; the irony of Timon; the rustic style and nevertheless the less classic art of Paul Louis Courier; but the system of mathematical proof which he had learned from Euclid excelled all; a chemical concentration of thoughts in crystals of two words, compared to jewels, which the emphasis of his voice made known in speaking, and which we indicate by italics in writing. If that address should be placed on the sun, those emphatic words would shine as precious jewels or drops of gold, full of life and endowed with wisdom. We should give the speech against the war with Mexico to youths as raw lecture material, to lawyers as a model analysis of contradictory evidence, and for the explanation of a disputed case. We present it to South Americans as proof that in it Mr. Lincoln condemns the influence that the internal parties of a powerful neighbor were able to exercise on the destiny of a nation. A summary of this speech by Congressman Lincoln is in this final phrase: "If the President of the United States can not show that the soil was ours where the first blood of the Mexican War was shed, then I will be fully convinced of what I more than suspect already, that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel is crying against him." That which he scarcely insinuated in this speech, for the sake of not irritating the majority of the slave states, Mr. Mann later said openly in the House of Representatives. "The most prominent feature of the civilization of this country, is that it has more than three million human serfs in cruel servitude; that the power that governs the nation has recently annexed Texas, because it has slaves; that it has

deprived Mexico of its richest provinces with the hope of extending slavery; that it has intended to rob Spain of Cuba with the same end in view, and even now has not given up the idea."

Ah! thus, against the President! against the government of the slave owners, it was necessary to speak; against the United States in whose name the deed was attempted and failed, he clamored in vain for blood!

The United States also suffered from the rebuff of the blow which they hurled on their brother Abel. The day the American eagles crossed the Red River they signed a short-termed promissory note which they have covered with interest from the defeat of Bull Run to the taking of Petersburg; it makes no difference whose blood and gold was poured out, as Rome paid dearly for the destruction of Carthage.

Slavery sought room for expansion toward the South, in Texas by annexation, in Mexico by conquest, and in Central America by filibustering. Happy with the golden conquest of California the spirit of invasion knew no limits, being able like Pompey, to display to the covetous eyes of the Romans the treasures of Asia, the statues of Greece, and the barbarian kings conquered and tied to their chariots. Julius Caesar was the gainer, and Rome was left wounded by his triumphs, like the whale to which is given enough rope after the harpoon has been thrust into it to go to the bottom of the sea and die.

The independence of Spanish America was guaranteed by the comity of the other nations. It was not the fault of the Spanish Colonies that Spain in colonizing them had scattered the inhabitants with an avaricious hand over an area three times larger than

Europe. The United States was being pushed on the shores of the Atlantic in three colonies in a space that the present day steam boat might run by in three days. Endowed with more foresight through racial instinct, the Puritans has not incorporated, as had the Spanish by the millions, autonomous villages which have been the cause of much disturbance in South America.

The Spanish colonies were disseminated, scattered through the interior of South America without contact with one another and almost without seaports. The free republics were born with weak constitutions, each with a million inhabitants, some with two, one alone with more than four million, the greater part of them Aztec Indians. To conquer these peoples only three centuries after Cortez had subdued the Empire of Mexico with two hundred Europeans, was not a difficult task; since the descendants of the European race were divided among themselves, and the part of the people most directly inheriting their European organic vices was unfortunately on the colonial side. The Monarchists of Mexico were of the same race as the Separatists to the South, the least, Americanized.

It would have seemed difficult for the United States to have decided to crush the rebellion after Monroe and Canning had protected the native, ^{weakness} of the budding States against the designs of the Holy Alliance. But in order to obtain it the slave party had to leave the door open to all future attempts against South America, incapable of maritime defense, because a vessel like the Dunderberg would absorb all the revenue of each of the States; South America entered, untimely, the ruinous system of "armed peace," which had created enormous European debts that the original

inventors now wished to abandon if the sovereigns could give reciprocal guarantees among themselves. In order to get possession of California and New Mexico the pro-slave president suggested that a "race divided by conflicting factions and a government subject to constant changes by means of internal revolutions could not give satisfaction."

Let us not forget that France, England and Spain (which in South America must always be right) were hearing the message of the President. What then will he do with those States subject to constant changes?

"The only means of obtaining a durable peace," said the President on speaking to Congressman Lincoln, "is to act in such a way that the people of Mexico will not need the counsel of the political chiefs, and confident in our protection, form a government that can assure a durable peace." Is not that the same, by chance, that the French government did, in order to overthrow anarchy and to assure to Mexico a lasting peace, by a most vigorous pursuit of the war commenced with so little reason in both cases?

The United States then were the ones who, pushing through the cobwebs, called the law of nations when concerned only with the weak, opened for South America, the box of Pandora of all the combinations of European politics, in the pupa state. Just as the Portuguese retarded the definite abolition of slavery until the nineteenth century by carrying the negroes away from Africa during the fifteenth century; so the United States by the conquest of Mexico and California retarded the formation

of the Republic on the soil where by Emancipation ^{the} ~~by~~ ex-Spanish colonies were able to follow their example without alarm or offense to the traditional governments of Europe.

VI

After the Mexican War, in which the white-headed eagle traced by the direction of his flight where a defenseless prey lay, the imperial eagles, of one or two heads, raised their wings across the seas. Audubon has demonstrated that it is the unfailing instinct of birds of that species, for some to be guided by the movements of others in crossing through space.

And when a people brought to mind with the generous arguments of Canning and Monroe (dead at last in body and spirit) that America is for Americans, the irony of history has asked, because of the Mexican War, whether that principle did not contain a double meaning, as the repartee of the oracle of Delphi. The United States of America would suffice to fill the letter of that verdict.

Providential circumstances appeared, fortunately and as if sought after in the development of the United States. In regard to the experiment of free institutions not having neighbors that might disturb its activities was very fortunate. But the situation grows much worse, with the proximity of the principle hostile to that in which its own institutions remain undisturbed. Now, the only States of the world that was so vainglorious as to have neither a permanent army nor a navy, has an army of observation in Texas and a formidable fleet on the seas.

If the new experiment in institutions is successful in Mexico, South America, so vulnerable, so divided by internal factions, will shout for the balm and panacea of Mexico; and if

in unpopulated territory, washed by the rivals of the Mississippi, and united to the United States, it should be successful, remedying the actual defects of depopulation and bad customs, from Canada to Cape Horne, there will be cloth enough to cut our great and powerful empires.

Europe was neither Cassack nor Republican in its political policies, but rather the forecast of the republican type of government. However, when the powers balanced themselves among current hostilities; the problem which Lincoln formulated in his first speech in New York presented itself: "This country cannot always be half slave and half free;" and it was all free. The day came when the Mediterranean could not remain half Roman and half Carthagian; and Carthage was erased from the face of the earth, her name accursed unto this day. Before that the ancient world could not remain half Roman and half barbarian; it was barbarian for ten centuries.

Perhaps there was not justice in the providential distribution of the good and the evil among nations, so that the United States obtained only advantages without any alloy of disadvantages. Perhaps the time had come when they should return to humanity what they had received from the past as inheritance along with English liberties, by taking part in the present tribulations and future progress. In spite of their disinclination they will have a standing army and will erase from their constitution clauses which are incompatible with free institutions. In spite of that they will have formidable navies and will enter into the business of the old world, since that situation isolated and separated, has disappeared by fault of the slave government which has left them this

political legacy.

They are then raised by the hands of their ancestors and the designs of Providence into the hazards of the unknown seas of the future world, politically militant, necessarily in antagonism with those who hope to change past history, and who from the deviations in the course of nations have worked out a regular itinerary for political institutions. Lincoln had, with the instinct of the common people, a vague presentiment of these evils; and it is well that he should have solemnly protested in congress against the incaution ones who had provoked them.

The hard truths which, in his speech on the Mexican War, he addressed the people from the height of the Capitol, against current popular opinion which he had seen err, had not cost him his popularity. It is the special privilege of sincerity of purpose and the recompense of right, this docile attitude of the public to let itself be chastised in the predilections ^{of the moment}, which adorning their own national love, have not, however, in their support the clear approbation of conscience.

Webster had also pointed out the dangers of the annexation of Texas which brought on, as one abyss attracts another, the Mexican War, which in its turn produced the conflict that brought the armed Empire to the frontiers.

VII

Elected President in 1861 Lincoln arrives at the Capitol by coming through Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and all along the way he makes brief addresses,

* This was in answer to Horace Greeley's open letter called "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," which was published in the New York Tribune August 20, 1862.
(Translator's note.)

treat

offering to, his adversaries as Washington and Jefferson had treated theirs. But his elevation was only the height which must be reached in order to discharge the electricity with which the atmosphere was loaded, and the storm broke loose. If the electoral triumph of the North was a mortification to the South the elevation of a countryman was the height of degradation: "A witty rail-splitter and a mender of old clothes," they said of the President and Vice-President, "both come from the woods, both regards having been reared in the grossest ignorance."

Fort Sumter fell, and from then all questions took shape and form. Henceforth, also, Lincoln expounded before the popular masses as he had before the plain people his position for the Nation and the Union, that only the intervention of the people had prolonged until them.

He asks for the Constitution "As it was," nothing more and nothing less; and when they urge that he proceed to the abolition of the slave, he answered with his habit of defining a policy from all angles: "I would save the Union." He said in answering the Tribune.* "I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution.--If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them."

Later he decides upon emancipation as a war measure for the purpose of saving the Union; but that question was to be de-

finitely decided by the accomplishment of armed forces.

Another internal question, that devolved upon him alone, threatened to disrupt his won camp. For seventy-five years the United States had been progressing peacefully, as the Mississippi flowing among the forests and prairies of the most spacious valley of the universe. The only accident that disturbs the smoothness of its waters is the entrance of a great river that comes to render its tribute of waters, or the circle of that mist which hangs over its surface, or a breeze which mildly ripples its water.

The Constitution has special mechanical devices as safety valves of a steam engine, for sometimes the heat threatens to break in pieces those parts, which by failure of use, are, it might be said, rusted.

It might, also, be said, in the conscience of the people such devices do not exist; for many things have deteriorated from disuse; for others a suspension of guarantees did not matter. The Executive authorized the generals to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in the loyal States according to their discretion, always when the execution of war measures met with resistance. Martial Law was put into effect, and was applied to hostile daily papers and to seditious speeches. Even a Representative was court-martialed and condemned because of an inflammatory speech against the authorities.

President Lincoln was severely criticized by the daily papers,

public meetings and by some strict constitutionalists because of his abuse of military power.

An Albany mass meeting offered him its support, except for military arrests. A committee from Ohio protested against the military arrest of Vallandigham as an offence against the State. Lincoln replied patiently to all with the pertinence of his logic, explaining the text and exceptions of the Constitution, ascending to the principle from which it emanated. "Must the Constitution be saved and the State lost," he asked? And replied:

"The Constitution must have with in its general statement the means of saving itself.--It is being tested whether a government, as that of the United State, strong enough not to constrain individual liberties, is too weak at the same time to save itself.

The experience of all times and countries has shown that nations do not save themselves by the ordinary processes of justice."

He cites the case of Jackson* who arrested newspaper men.

* Sarmiento here refers to the following incident:

After the battle of New Orleans before official knowledge of the fact that the peace treaty had been concluded, although this was well known in the city, Jackson maintained martial law, and under it arrested a Mr. Louallier for the publishing of a denunciatory newspaper article. A lawyer by the name of Morel procured the United States Judge Hall to order a writ of habeas corpus to release him. Where upon, Jackson arrested both the lawyer and the judge. After the treaty of peace was regularly announced and the imprisoned men released, the judge called Jackson into court and fined him \$1,000.00 for having arrested him and the others named. It was this fine that was restored to Jackson by Congress thirty years afterwards. Nicolay & Hay--Works of Lincoln, II p 350 - 51. (*Translator's note*)

lawyers, and federal judges; and the absolution which Congress gave him, thirty years afterwards, restoring to him the fine that the imprisoned judge had imposed on him.

This debate enlightened the general public and all believed that the Constitution did contain within itself the means of suppressing an insurrection, preventing crimes without having to punish for them, by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; and punishing them summarily, after they had been committed, by Martial Law. Webster and judgments had explained this as follows: "Concerning the power of arrest, of judging summarily, and of giving prompt execution to the judgment, the world is going to be a camp, and the law of the camp the law of the world." In regard to the case of Vallandigham he said with simplicity: "I do not know whether I would have arrested him.....; but, I hold that, as a general rule, the commander in the field is a better judge of the necessity in any particular case."

To Lieutenant-General Grant he said at another time:

"I know your plans in general only, and do not pretend to know the details"; and nevertheless, from the beginning until the end of the war he relieved Generals of their commissions, whether McClellan, the acclaimed, or Butler, the Veteran; he reprimanded Fremont as (President) Johnson later did Sherman, whenever they transcended the limits of their purely military authority, or when they were^{not} uniformly victorious.

Civil power remains always safe; and the Republic notwithstanding its colossal armaments, free from those Mariuses and Sullas who came to debate political questions with their

* The author was present at this
review (translator's note)

legions in time of peace, or brought about a war by their dissensions.

After the review ^{*}in Washington a half million veterans returned to their families and no one, by the sight of their uniforms which were not overcrowded with military ornaments, would have suspected that half million had returned to their homes and that already the railroads were transporting to the West the famous legions of Sherman, that had eclipsed all glory. The French revolution died beneath the weight of the laurels, as the first empire in the inevitable reprisal of glory, which is and was always the expiation that appeases the ghosts of historical justice.

VIII

His election following those debates, as Jackson had been elected after his sentence for acts even more serious, show that the common people had returned from the error of their way; and error which the President did not follow. He defended the powers and prerogatives of the executive so liable to be lessened and impaired by legislatures, judges, and the people themselves, who forget that the Executive is their own power, and that civil war is the curse of all, the conqueror as well as the conquered. This question divided in the United States, and this power used with honor and solely for the purpose outlined by the Constitution, will spare many years of confusion to the States of South America where the political party, and who would believe it! The government misguided by defective ideas, almost always magnifies

papers, by debates, speeches in meetings, the debates in the Legislatures, the message and wise proclamation of the President, as Franklin, Webster, Clay, Chase, Grant, Douglas, Jackson, Lincoln, Johnson, all of the plain people, energetic, trained, are capable of reaching, by work, patience, genius, patriotism, as motives, the greatest heights possible for human beings to attain.

Next to Washington comes the glamour of Lincoln who terminates the work of liberation which the aristocratic gentleman of the South had not dared attempt; he who realizes his previsions of futuer greatness; and launches the United States on the Stormy sea of contemporary history as lately the Dunderberg was seen launched on the shores of the Hudson. It was the largest of the emblematic ships, armoured, manned by forty million* seamen who could be pilots, with all the machinery and inventions that are as yet locked up in the gigantic brain of the Republic. Since it has accumulated this great intellectual and material strength in only eighty years, it exhibits it today to the world as a specimen of creative power, and not as coercion, as an example and model, and not as a compulsive force.

That which Lincoln, in the presence of the tombs of thousands of the dead at Gettysburg, brings forth as a problem of history has been proved by the United States: "Whether a State, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, would be able to endure."

*The reference is to the population of the United States, possibly.

I have not been able to find a reference to the "Dunderberg" elsewhere.

This State endured even after the war, having extended during it the circle of human liberties; meanwhile the government was supported by a strong hand without being dragged along by the currents of opinion on the right or the left that wished to turn it aside; now compromising with the rebellion in order that the hydra might make the severed heads grow again; now magnifying individual securities in view of the question "to be, or not to be," that Romans should know how to change and determine their actions with a placid countenance, and that the experience and sobriety of English liberties was not evaded, leaving within reach of the crown the resort which in times of unrest suspend the security of recourse to habeas corpus.

For the reconstruction of the Union, after the rebellion was suppressed, he had as his favorite maxim: "The Union as it was." There had actually been grave danger from the disloyalty of the governments of the South, the same exaggeration of interpretations of the Constitution by one, and by the other the tendency of every victorious power to imbibe authority, that an essential modification of the federal organization might be brought about, which a result of chance has given, nevertheless, a new mechanism of government. The Republic is able to grow by its own expansion without bringing in the necessity of using tendons of iron in order to move so great a mass. Rome succumbed before this difficulty while the United States were saved, leaving the Sinitic tribes and the Greeks to their own existence.

and only conserving the exterior power of the nation, and means of preserving republican forms. Concerning the question of slavery, Lincoln was against the abolitionists and the owners of slaves. Concerning the question of reconstruction, there was, in the soil of Constitutional tradition, that which the lawyers interpreted as meaning that restitution should be made to the States in which those things happened; and Johnson followed this policy when Lincoln died. He had to place his signature on the decree of restoration committing himself only through lack of power, to giving the rebel States a republican form of government.

At the announcement of his reelection, Lincoln uttered a profound political thought, from the ignorance of which South America has suffered many times. Assuming the role of an old and experienced labourer he said that it was never well to change horses in the middle of the *river*. According to him, his reelection was only a prudent measure for putting through the conflict in which the country was involved.

The appreciation of the results of the events that developed during the administration of Lincoln has not been included in his biography. For the contemplation of great historical scenes, it is necessary to place oneself at greatest possible distance in time, finally, to be able to embrace it as a whole, to study its component parts, describing details which complete the scene, or better taking away the excessive embossment from the form of the first plan.

Thus the life of Lincoln was in itself alone destined to be a great benefit for the training of the common people. It is not the violence of the barbarian opening for himself a way with the axe that falls on his weaker fellow creatures; it is not the demagogue, who in exchange for occupying the fore front will leave behind an irreparable breach. It is the honorable labourer, who studies the laws of his country, recognizing the signs of the times, who proposes to strengthen the common people, and succeeds as Saint Bernard, Cobden, as all, who by words have directed the general impulses of the people toward liberty, progress, and moral equality. It is the political history of the titanic civil war, its antecedents, and its results; it is at the same time the official register of governmental acts which directed it and brought it to a successful end. But above all it is a school of good republican government, whose lessons will not be heeded by honorable men, lessons which we pass by from year to year to the astonishment and uncontrollable disgust of the world, driving us against the walls for not deciding on and finding the road that we shall follow.

South America lacks antecedents of government in its own colonial history, since it has not gone to Philip II or Ferdinand VII to ask for information concerning the art of government. France was not able to give us any better. Her publicists can only be excused, as Mary Magdalene, because of the depth of their love.

The political school of South America is in the United

States as participants of English liberties, as creators of an absolutely free government, the strongest without exception, since in peace it has created the most prosperous nation on earth; and in war it has displayed genius, reunited armies, invented arms, and gained laurels, which open a new page in the history of modern warfare, leaving humble the ancients.

The distribution of this book may possibly be a stimulus or a hindrance for others to follow it concerning those questions which the Belgian, French, and Spanish presses have not offered in books to South America. The colossal printing houses of New York and Boston, very efficient, whose products are the most finished, should, because of the splendid shipping facilities, provide them in unlimited quantities.

North America numbers twenty-five million assiduous readers; South twenty-five million serfs who speak one language. How many know how to read? And how many knowing how to read, do read?

Perhaps if the number is not known to us, we shall find the cause of eternal war, and the possibility of warding it off.

New York, August 16, 1865

C O N T E N T S

Chapter 1

Childhood and Education

Notable similarities in early youth among the public men of the United States. - Genealogy of Lincoln. - Life on the frontiers. - His childhood and youth. - Lincoln as a rail-splitter, boatman, business man, and soldier. - The characteristics of his education. Anecdotes.

Chapter II

His political affiliation. - He adopts the profession of law. - Is elected member of the Legislature. His opinion on slavery. - His notable defense of young Armstrong. - Is elected representative in the Federal Congress.

Chapter III

In Congress. Lincoln as a political orator. He appases the Mexican War. His important speech on the question. Opposed by the Conservatives.

"The entire truth" against "the truth".- The logic of his demonstration.- Analysis of the diverse points in question.- A mediator.- The distinction between the exercise and the claim of jurisdiction. A veritable rule for the verification of boundaries. The cost and futility of the war.- Difficulties for the bringing about of a satisfactory peace.

Chapter IV

In Congress.

The disastrous effect of annexation on politics. Lincoln's views on slavery in the territories.- He retires to private life.- He reenters the political arena.- Candidate for senator and governor.- His defeat.- The debates with Douglas.- The great importance and significance of this contest. His first speech in it.- The government cannot endure half slave and half free.- The great question of the day clearly explained.- The Nebraska bill and the Dred Scott decision.- The LeCompton Constitution. He denounces the conspiracy to extend slavery.- A live dog is better than a dead lion. The great ardor and enthusiasm of the fight. Tribute to the Declaration on Independence.- Description, habits, and qualities of

Lincoln. - The result of the contest.

Chapter V

Before the Nation.

The antagonist effect produced by his defeat.
His plan for the treatment of his political adversaries.
Notable words addressed to the South. - His New York speech. - The powers of the federal government in regard to slavery in the territories. - Historical precedents in his favor. - The opinion of Washington and the makers of the constitution. - Its unanimity of opinion on this point. - The limits of its authority. - The limitation and not the abolition of slavery his object. - The invocation to his enemies. What is conservatism? - The true principles of the Republican party. - It did not instigate the insurrection of slaves, that was not feasible. - The difference between a dictum and a judicial sentence. The obligation of the Republicans. - The absurd claims of the slave owners. - Mr. Lincoln and the children of the Dominical School.

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Chapter I

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Among the men who have exercised the most decided influence in the United States of North America, there are, in the principal events of their lives very noticeable similarities. If the details differ, the story in general is the same; it is "the short and simple annals of the poor;" obscurely born; accustomed to hardships from the earliest years; having defective educational facilities; tried by all kinds of difficulties; and nevertheless, independent, trusting in their own strength, also in their own efforts; hence we shall say, they have opened for themselves the way to those positions for which intellect and individual peculiarities have prepared them.

Sons of nature rather than of art, yet in their later years, in the midst of scenes and associates quite different from those with which they were familiar in childhood and early youth, they have conserved in their acts and words that native vigor, which is sometimes called rusticity. But if they have not acquired the graces of a courtier, sincerity of heart has amply compensated that fault.

If their language is rude, it is at least frank and unequivocal; so that enemies as well as friends know where to find them; finally, poorly skilled in political tricks or intrigues they go straight to the point to which their prompt or unobscured aim directed them.

Among this class of men a great statesman occupies a prominent place, whose life and public service we propose to explain in the following pages.

Abraham Lincoln the sixteenth president of the United States-- whose name shall occupy in the history of humanity, by his having

* Lincoln was born three miles south of the present site of Hodgenville, in what is now Larnue County, Kentucky.

H. E. Barton, "The Life of Abraham Lincoln,"
VI, p. 1. (Translator's note)

abolished slavery and preserved the Union, a place as prominent as that of Washington, who assured the independence of the continent and consolidated the isolated institutions--was born February 12, 1809 on the Kentucky frontier, then uninhabited, at a place which today is called in due."

His genealogy is not known farther back than his grandfather of the same name, who emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky, and took possession of a tract of land for the purpose of building a home as was the custom of the frontiersmen of that country, which was still inhabited and frequented by Indians. The first settlers on that grave frontier were continually in danger of being murdered by the savages. There were no neighbors within two or three miles distance from the cabin and his grandfather was forced to have his rifle ready always, while with an axe he cleared the fields for cultivation. Individuals, and even entire families of that vicinity had perished at the hands of the Indians and four years had not passed before the same fate befell Abraham* whose mangled body was found four miles from his cabin in a field he had been clearing the day before and where the savages had surprised him.

Because of this terrible catastrophe the family had to separate and there was left with widow the youngest of three sons, Thomas Lincoln, who, also, left home when he was scarcely twelve years old; however, when he reached maturity he returned to Kentucky and carried money with him. Both were entirely lacking in culture; his wife could read some, Thomas Lincoln not at all, but he did know how to sign his name in undecipherable characters; yet, both, as is common among North-Americans, knew how to appreciate the value of an education

*President Lincoln's grandfather

and honored and respected the natural knowledge of others. In lieu of this lack of culture Thomas had the proverbial kindness of heart, and he was always industrious and possessed great perseverance. Of their three children, two reached the age of maturity, a daughter who died soon after marriage, and Abraham, in his childhood affectionately called 'be, a contraction which, which eventually found its way into the popular language.

At the age of seven, Abraham entered a school which was accidentally opened in the vicinity, and whose master was scarcely able to teach reading and writing; but, before he had more than learned to read his father sold the farm and decided to move.

The property was sold for two hundred and eighty dollars. Of that amount only twenty dollars was in silver, the rest was in whiskey or rum. Thomas Lincoln surmised to obtain a profit on the trade, hence, he undertook, with the little help the child was able to give him, to construct a flat-boat for the purpose of descending the Rolling Fork, in the vicinity of which he lived, and entering the Ohio to go through that river to Indiana where his brothers had preceded him.

The outcome of this journey was disastrous. The boat remained with such loss to the cargo that they scarcely saved three barrels. The boat was given in compensation to those who had helped to save them. From here, penetrating into the heart of the country, and opening a road through the woods with a hatchet, Thomas Lincoln arrived after many days of fatigue at the Decatur settlement where he decided to remain. After choosing a site for a home he left his effects in the care of a person who lived some miles away and returned on foot to Kentucky to save his family.

A few days later they bade farewell to their old home and started out, Mrs. Lincoln and her daughter on one horse, Abe on another, and his father on a third. After a journey of seven days across uninhabited country, sleeping in the open air on a blanket spread on the ground, they arrived at the place chosen for their future home and immediately set about clearing a site for a cabin.

An axe was placed in Abe's hands, and with the help of a neighbor in three days Mr. Lincoln had constructed what is called a "log-house," fastening it in the corners with posts of wood as the custom is. The timbers or logs were placed on top of each other to the right height for roofing, and the crevices between them were filled with mud. They then brought from their own workshop, a bed, a table, and four chairs, and with them the house was furnished. Such was the paternal mansion of him who later occupied the White House in Washington, and today his name is known throughout the world.

Although his own was not idle during the winter he continued to practice reading, and starting from so early an age he began to make himself noticed as a good workman. To the great delight of his parents he gave a demonstration of his skill, obtaining by dexterity a woodchuck which had approached the cabin. The proper handling of a rifle was of much importance in those isolated solitary regions, as then the greater part of the provisions depended on hunting; and the family that could not count among its members one or two who could shoot well encountered difficulties.

A little more than a year after the Lincoln family was established in its new home Mrs. Lincoln died leaving in the heart of her

family and in the home a great vicinity. A young man who came to live in the neighborhood furnished to Abraham the opportunity of learning to write, which he accomplished in less than a year.

His father returned [to Kentucky] to marry a widow, and mother and three children, who because of the gentleness of her nature was very sorry of fulfilling the obligations of her new position. The deep affection which was then established between she and his step-mother continued, without weakening, throughout the life of both of them.

Another young man, who learned from previous school masters, came to live in the neighborhood and opened a school in which young Abraham perfected his reading and writing, acquiring besides an idea of arithmetic even the rule of three; and with this his early education ended.

He retained easily that which he learned, and as he had a passion for study his constant application secured for him the distinction of school-master, while the general knowledge that he had acquired by reading made him much sought for as a writer by the more ignorant inhabitants who always begged some one to write a letter.

It is said that his clothing was of tanned deer skin, and his cap of racoon, according to the custom of the frontiersmen of that time.

During the four or five years subsequently, he worked constantly in the woods cutting trees with his axe and splitting them into rails; and at night he spent much of a reading, by the flickering light of the fire, books that he had borrowed from his neighbors.

Among these he obtained a copy of the "Life of Washington" by Adams.

the reading of which must have exerted on his character a similar influence to that which is attributed to the reading of the lives of Antares, on the public conduct of other celebrated persons in history who read them in their youth. Because of some accidental injury that he took received at his hands he obligated himself to cut torrage for two days in compensation for the damage.

At the age of eighteen he entered the service of a neighbor, receiving ten dollars a month, in order to go to New Orleans on a boat loaded with provisions which were to be sold to the plantation owners on the shores near the Crescent City. He set out on this long and dangerous expedition with a single companion. At night they beached the boat to the shore, sleeping on deck and waiting for day in order to continue the voyage of eight hundred miles, which they carried through, enduring numerous hardships.

One night, as they slept, a gang of slaves boarded the boat and attacked them, but after a lively struggle the negroes were obliged to take flight. Finally, after selling their merchandise for a good profit, the two boys returned to Indiana.

In 1830 Mr. Thomas Lincoln moved his family to Illinois, taking his household goods in ox-carts, and driving one of them.

Within two weeks they arrived at Decatur in Deane county, which is located near the center of the state: and a day or two later they took possession of a plot of ten acres of land (four blocks), seven miles from Decatur, north of the Sangamon River, which they proposed to cultivate. A log cabin was immediately erected, and he proceeded to prepare the rails with which the farm

was to be enclosed, and as rail-splitter, hawthorn, and labourer young Abraham Lincoln was considered one of the most experienced and skillful. Hence such must have been the regret of his family when the adult youth announced his intention of going to seek his fortune among strangers.

Taking into consideration the fact that the more advanced towns would furnish him a theatre adequate to his likes and disposition, he moved to the more thickly settled county of Wayne where he worked as a day labourer in the neighbourhood of Detroit during the following summer and winter, without neglecting his studies in reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar.

The following spring he entered an agreement with one Olcott to take a flat-boat to the Orleans, and as he did not consider the boat fit for the voyage, Abraham Lincoln took charge of construction

* I have not found elsewhere that Lincoln was an exceptionally skilled huntsman, or that he cared particularly for the sport. However, in Helen Nicolson's book, "The Boy's Life of Abraham Lincoln", page 112, I find that if Lincoln had leisure after he became president, "he would take a drive in the late afternoon, or perhaps steal away into the grounds south of the Executive Mansion to test some kind of gun, if its inventor had been fortunate enough to bring it to his notice."

I also find in Warner's "Abraham Lincoln", Vol. I, page 12: "Once Abe took the gun in a flock of wild turkeys came toward the new log cabin, and, standing inside, shot through a crack and killed one of the big birds; and after that, somehow, he never felt like pulling the trigger on game-birds....." "His father did the shooting," in order to supply the family with meat. (Translator's note)

one which was launched in the waters of the Saginaw and served for the perspective voyage of the Missisippi. He gave such a favorable account of this commission that after its successful termination, his new patron, satisfied with the ability and work of his employee, entrusted him with the direction of his mill and store in the village of New Salem. In this position, "Monett Abe," as he was called, gained the confidence and respect of all with whom he came in contact; while at the same time, his affability and promptness in assisting the unfortunate brought him general popularity. He himself was never accused of a dishonorable act.

At the beginning of the following year the insurrection known as the Black Hawk War, from the name of the Indian Chief, broke out, and when the governor of Illinois called for volunteer troops, he decided to offer his services and inscribed his name among the first in the recruiting office that was opened in New Salem. Many of his friends and acquaintances were influenced by him to follow his example and a company was quickly organized of which he was elected captain. The company enlisted for only thirty days and in that time he did not see active service, so when a new call for volunteers was made he returned to resume military duty, and continued with his regiment until the end of the war.

At the age of twenty he measured six feet and four inches in height. He was lean, muscular, and extraordinarily strong, a giant among the race of giants.

In a later speech Lincoln alluded thus to this campaign.*

* *The Black Hawk War.* (Translator's note.)

* The following was omitted by the typist:

"By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? yes, sir; in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career reminds me of my own"

laughing at the determination of the big fellows of "Moral Reform" to make him a military hero: *

At a much later time when ABRAHAM LINCOLN had attained fame as a great orator the Reverend Dr. Sullivan* obtained in private conversation with him some interesting details which have a place here:

"I want very much to know," the Reverend Dr. Sullivan asked Mr. Lincoln, "how you got this unusual power of getting things. It must have been a matter of education. No man has it by nature alone. What has your education been?"

Lincoln replied, "Well as to education the newspapers are correct; I never went to school I suppose for six months in my life. But, as you say this must be a product of culture in some form. I have been asking the question you asked me to specify which you have been talking. I can only say this, that among my earliest recollections I remember how, when a little child, I used to get irritated when any one talked to me in a way I could not understand. I don't think I ever got angry at any other time in my life. But that always disturbed by temper, and was over kind. I can remember going to my little bedroom, after hearing and not being able to go to bed with my father, and opening my small part of the night talking up and down, and trying to make out what was the exact meaning of some of their, to me, dark sayings. I could not sleep, though I often tried to, when I got on such a hunt after an idea, until I thought I had it, I was not satisfied until I had repeated it over and over, until I had put it in the words which I thought, for any boy I knew to command.

* * F. B. Carpenter in his book, *The Inner Life of Abraham Lincoln*, gives the name of the person referred to as "The Rev. J. P. Sullivan of Norwich Connecticut." (Translator's note)

This was a kind of passion with me, and it has stuck by me; for I am never easy now, when I am handling a thought, till I have bounded it North, and bounded it South, and bounded it east, and bounded it west. Perhaps that accounts for the characteristic you observe in my speeches, though I never put the two things together before."

"Mr. Lincoln I thank you for this," answered the Reverend Mr. Culliver, "It is the most splendid educational fact I ever happened upon. This is genius, with all its impulsive inspiring dominating power over the mind of its possessor, developed by education into talent, with its uniformity, its permanence, and its disciplined strength,--always ready, always available, never capricious,--the highest possession of the human intellect. But, let me ask, did you prepare for your profession?"

"Oh, yes! I 'read law', as the phrase is, that is I became a lawyers clerk in Springfield, and copied business documents, and picked up what I could of law in the intervals of other work. But your question reminds me of a bit of education I had, which I am bound in honesty to mention. In the course of my law reading, I constantly came upon the word 'demonstrate'. I thought at first that I understood its meaning, but soon became satisfied that I did not. I said to myself, "What do I mean when I demonstrate some thing? How do I prove it? How does demonstration differ from any other proof?" I consulted Webster's Dictionary. That told of 'certain proof'; but I could find no idea what sort of proof that was. I thought a great many things were proved beyond the possibility of doubt,

without recourse to any such extraordinary process of reasoning as I understood 'demonstration' to be. I consulted all the dictionaries and books of reference I could find with no better results. You might as well have defined blue to a blind man. At last I said, 'Lincoln, you can never make a lawyer if you do not understand what demonstrate means;' and I left my situation in Springfield, sent to my father's house, and stayed there till I could give any proposition in the six books of Euclid at sight. I then found out what demonstrate means, and I went back to my law studies."

The Reverend Mr. Cullivier concluded, "I could not refrain from saying, in my admiration at such a development of character and genius combined: 'Mr. Lincoln your success is no longer a marvel. It is the legitimate result of adequate causes. You deserve it all, and a great deal more. If you will permit me, I would like to use this fact publicly. It will be most valuable in inciting our young men to that patient classical and mathematical culture which most mines absolutely require. No man can talk well unless he is able first of all to define to himself what he is talking about. Euclid, well studied, would free the world of half its calamities, by banishing half the nonsense which now deludes and curses it. I have after thought that Euclid would be one of the best books to put on the catalogue of the Tract Society, if they could only get people to read it. It would be a means of grace'."

"I think so," said Mr. Lincoln laughing, "I vote for Euclid."

As a little incident significant in the characterization of a distinguished man, we will give here the curious observations of President Lincoln in regard to a case, in which conversation

he recalled his tastes and habits of youth.

A newspaper reporter of Washington came to call on the president one night and found that he had already retired. He told him, however, to take a seat in the office, and a little later Mr. Lincoln appeared in his night-clothes, his long, bare, shaggy limbs eliciting laughter. The business performed, he showed himself inclined to conversation, and taking the stick from the gentleman's hands he said: "I always used a cane when I was a boy. It was a freak of mine. My favorite one was a knotted peach stick, and I carved the head myself. There's a mighty amount of character in sticks. Don't you think so? You have seen those fire-irons that fit into a cane? Well that was an old idea of mine. Boxwood clubs were favorites with the boys. I suppose they use them yet. Hickory is too heavy, unless you get it from a young sapling. Have you ever noticed how a stick in one's hand will change his appearance? Old women and witches couldn't look so without sticks. Boy burglars understand that."

^ The stick which Lincoln used to smoke (see interview note)

CHAPTER II
Entrance in Public Life

Mr. Lincoln had scarcely reached the age of maturity when he decided to devote himself to the legal profession; and in company with many courageous young men of that day and country he entered politics, embracing ardently the cause of liberty and the principles of the "free party," in which Mr. Lincoln distinguished himself as a leader of debate. And it is of note that he made his political debut in a state where there decidedly opposed to that great "Caucasian" (Lincoln); but Lincoln received the most gratifying proof of his personal popularity, with the almost unanimous vote of his political party, in his own county of Sangamon, electing him candidate for representative to the legislature; although John A. B. (Lincoln), in the same election of 1832, General Jackson, as a candidate, had been elected over his competitor, Mr. B. by a majority of fifty-five votes.

While studying law Lincoln never ceased to be a member of the Illinois Whig. In 1834, he was admitted to the bar--the first of his life in his state, when, after a short time, he was elected to the legislature of his adopted state, for the first time with one exception, as one of the members of its members.

During the session he was elected to the position of co-ordinator himself with the role of legislator. It was then that he became acquainted with Stephen A. Douglas, a brilliant man of letters, whose reputation was destined to rise to so extraordinary a height in the politics of the country.

Re-elected in 1836, he gave his address and he also presented
colleagues his opinions concerning slavery in the following protest
made in March 1836:

"Resolutions on the subject of domestic slavery being passed into
branches of the General Assembly at its regular session, the undersigned hereby
protest against the passage of the same.

They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both in-
justice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of Christian doctrines
tends rather to liberate than to strengthen it.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has no right under the
constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different
States. They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power,
under the constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but
that any power which has been exercised, under the request of the people
of the District."

In 1838 and 1840 he was first elected to Congress receiving
the vote of his party for the majority of the house.

Chosen for the first time at the age of twenty-five, he had
continued in the army or sea--meanwhile he was himself loyal to
his party; and at the same time, thanks to his arduous labors, his
habitual and unquestionable integrity, the Abolitionists had admired
him, at the age of thirty the position of second in command of his
party in Illinois. His radical and ardent had already developed,
showing him to be logical and forceful in argument.

The ardent zeal that he displayed in behalf of his party
brought around him a circle of friends, while his recognized
goodness of heart won for him the affection of others. So for
political reasons, those had not stood by him.

While he was a member of the Legislature he continued to de-
vote himself to his domestic relations, and he would have been
satisfied to have spent his life in the quiet of his home, which had been his to the day of his mar-
riage, and his political interests. In 1838 he was admitted to the

practice of law in Scotland, with the simple English and North-American custom, which permits those who devote themselves to the legal profession to enjoy with a degree of reputation, and respect, not to the judges, making him as a partner, until his fitness for practice is recognized and he begins to plead on his own account.

Thus a lawyer is not always one who has studied in universities in his youth, but one who, when his ability as an orator is recognized and accepted, commences his career with the practice of law.

In partnership with another lawyer, Mr. Stuart, the Lincoln opened his lawyer's office in Glasgow under the most favorable auspices and made himself known as a jury lawyer because of the facility with which he perceived the fundamental point of the case, and the promptness of bringing it out.

A certain kind of humor which he frequently used as a basis of exposition combined with his sound common sense, and the precision with which he touched the essential part of the difficulty gave the interest or originality to his discourses. Disregarding the propriety of rhetoric he spoke as men to men; because of which he was universally considered, by those with whom he was associated, as a fine lawyer in the largest and most literal sense of the phrase. His ideas, his manner, his mode of expression were all his own.

Since he did not direct the judgment of a jury, the people had confidence in him, reverencing him as one of the greatest, the greatest of all, in so much as the sympathies of the people were his, their welfare was his interest, the greatest of his desires.

An incident in the practice of law is recalled which deserves to be cited. A collision having taken place in the county, the crime was placed on a charge by the name of robbery, the name of



There is a "Gospel" mentioned in the text, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text.

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Although the "Gospel" mentioned in the text, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text.

Having previously lived in the same kind of life, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text.

The "Gospel" mentioned in the text, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text.

The "Gospel" mentioned in the text, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text, and it is said to be a book of the same kind as the "Gospel" mentioned in the text.

(Translator's note.)

At the opening of the session in 1861 Mr. Lincoln took his seat in the House of Representatives, Stephen Douglas appearing at the same time as a member of the Senate.

In his book on the Mexican war Justin Smith defends the position that the responsibility for starting the Mexican war could not be placed on President Polk. (Translator's note.)

[illegible]

1. The first and most important in all the questions of internal
administration was the question of the organization of the
state. It was decided to divide the state into provinces
and to appoint governors to each province. The first
provinces were the provinces of the capital, the provinces
of the north, the provinces of the south, the provinces
of the east, and the provinces of the west. The
governors of the provinces were appointed by the
central government. The first governors were the
governors of the provinces of the capital, the
governors of the provinces of the north, the
governors of the provinces of the south, the
governors of the provinces of the east, and the
governors of the provinces of the west.

in the second year of that century (the 18th century) the British
in question of abolition the same time in the British of the
in the province; and within the 18th century the British of the
of course, in question the same of course, the same of course
of course. This will give a very good idea of the British, and
of the time of the British of the British of the British of the British.

within the limits of (the district) of Columbia; and ordered the
equal emancipation of existing slaves, giving a compensation to the
owners, if a majority of the legal voters of the district consented
to that by an election which should be held to that effect. How-
ever, he made allowance for the rights of the citizens from the slave
states who came to the District on public business, so long as they and
their families resided in it.

With respect to conceding tracts of public land to the new States,
in order to aid them in the construction of railroads and canals he
considered the interests of his own constituents, with those restrictions
in the cases required.

Not taking the hint that he would be reelected, he retired to
private life, returning to practice his profession which he had
neglected because of his public obligation. He did not take an active
part in politics during the administration of General Taylor, nor in
the lively scenes of 1840.

The introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, presented by
Stephen Douglas, brought him from his repose, and he determined to use
his energy in debating in favor of its direct repeal. In the electoral
campaign of that year (1844) he was one of the most active leaders
of the anti-slavery movement, as it was called, vigorously opposing to
those who in public places with the sword and gun, that were his own,
the which he aided so efficiently, in promoting important political
events which occurred in Illinois that year.

The Legislature now to nominate a United States Senator, and in
1845, for the first time in the history of the State made possible
the election of a candidate opposed to the Democratic party. Lincoln,

in spite of his being designated by public opinion for that office. He refused, with that self-demand that was peculiar to him, to seek in favor of Mr. Fremont, a man of Democratic antecedents; who, therefore, had a better chance of receiving the votes of those Democrats who were opponents of the Government. The result was that Fremont was elected.

At the formation of the Republican party in 1856, Mr. Lincoln cooperated actively and effectively. His name was presented for Vice-President of the National Convention of the party, but he was not chosen.

Colonel Fremont was nominated as candidate for that office and Lincoln ardently devoted himself to the task of carrying the election for him, believing that he was the most suitable for the position.

Senator Douglas having spoken against the administration of Mr. Fremont relative to the question of Kansas, also called the Republican Constitution, which permitted the introduction of slavery into the new state, was upheld by the Democratic party of Illinois; and his reelection would depend on the local election of 1858. The National Convention resolved unanimously, in the midst of the storm, that Abraham Lincoln was "the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for United States Senator as the successor of Douglas."

At the close of this convention he gave the following speech, which sets the standard of the great fight with Mr. Douglas, in or the most important and decisive that the country had witnessed until then; and which contains in itself all of the seeds of the storm to that later day when the blood of Lincoln and Douglas was shed as a result of the terrible conflict the abolition of slavery in all of the United States. With

his conception of the movement is here.

In that campaign so vigorously pursued, Illinois was swept in its entire breadth and length by both candidates and their respective supporters; and the country in general followed with interest the incidents of the great contest. From Chicago, to Omaha, from city to city, from village to village, both candidates traveled, speaking in the towns and on the prairie, drawing in the presence of great crowds of men, women, and children--as the women and children of those rural communities took a lively part in the activities of the day--as they armed face to face the principal points of their political belief and fought hard for the sake of victory.

In one of his discourses during that memorable campaign, Mr. Lincoln rendered the following tribute to the opening up of the Declaration of Independence of the United States; which may be called to all humanity, an admirable expression of democracy.

"The representatives of those communities (the people of the thirteen original states of the Union), assembled in old Independence Hall, declared.....; that all men were created equal; that the

*In this speech Lincoln gave the "Folies" statement "I never divided against myself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved--I do not expect to have to fall--but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will unite the further ahead of it, and I do it when the whole will rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its enemies will lead it forward till it shall become like I-ago in all the States, all we will do now, both in North."

We then discuss the Dred Scott Decision and the statement made by Douglas that "he cared not whether slavery be voted up or voted down" and draw the conclusion that together the Dred Scott Decision and the "free soil" policy of Douglas also claim the "perfect freedom of the people to be as free as they wish" or that Douglas' indifference to the existence of slavery pointed to a belief in the recognition of the slave trade. (Translator's note)

creator had endowed them with certain inalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This was the lofty interpretation that our fathers gave to the economic universe...." Lincoln made the point that the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness was extended to all, negroes as well as Anglo-Americans; and appeals to the people to "turn their eyes toward the Declaration of Independence and renew the struggle begun by their fathers" to uphold its principles.]

"You may make of me what you wish, if you abide by these sacred principles-----Not pretending to be indifferent to the matter of worldly honors, I am inspired to enter this fight by a higher motive than that of obtaining an office.---that is nothing. I am nothing. Douglas is nothing. But you must not destroy that immortal emblem of liberty: The American Declaration of Independence."

The appearance of Mr. Lincoln in the political arena was beginning to arouse so much interest among the public, during his contest with Douglas, that the daily reports of that time were full of descriptions of his person and other characteristic features. From these let us take the most notable.

"Mr. Lincoln," said one newspaper, "measures six feet and four inches. He is lank and awkward. In his movements he has the elasticity and lack of grace that reveals rough work and frontier life; and his conversation expresses strongly the provincialism and provincialism of the West. He walks slowly but deliberately, almost always with his head bent forward and his hands crossed behind. In the matter of dress he is a little high-toned; always well-dressed and correct, never according to the fashion; carelessness, rather than slovenliness. In his manners he is extremely cordial, but always simple. A vigorous handshake or sympathetic smile of recognition is all that he gives to his friends.

His features, although pronounced are far from being handsome; but his brown eyes shine with some emotion, and his features after action, he will be pointed out among thousands as one who passes not only those tender sentiments that are so precious to us, but the most durable metal of which our men are nourished and accidents are made. His head is large and his forehead well proportioned. An eagle nose, a large mouth and a dark complexion, with a face of being tanned in the open air complete the description."

"In his personal habits Mr. Lincoln had the simplicity of a child. He enjoys eating and does it in proportion to his body; but his food is simple and nourishing.

He does not care for tobacco in any form; he neither drinks liquors or wine. One can reproach him to his face for a licentious act in his life. He did not use figure words, nor simile. It is believed that he owes no one a single dollar. In his home he lives as a man of great means and simple pleasures. A large frame house, his property, furnished with the simplicity that does not exclude comfort, surrounded by trees and flowers, serves as his residence. Here he lives quietly and is the idol of his family, and because of his honor, wisdom, and patriotism is admired by his countrymen.

"As an orator he is quick, accurate and eloquent. His manner of speaking before an audience indicated whether he is to treat his subject in an excessively logical or a very violent fashion. He uses no gestures, but when he desired to produce effect, he contracts his forehead, raises his eyes, and puckers his mouth, thus concentrating his utterances in a manner so eloquent that he never fails to attract the attention of his audience. His pronunciation is full and emphatic; his voice, however, has, at times, harsh and disagreeable tones. As has been previously stated, his chief characteristic consists in the remarkable ability of his features, whose constant contortions produce the

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CHAPTER V

BEFORE THE NATION

The outcome of the debate with Douglas, even though it bore all appearances of a defeat, was destined to convert itself at a later date into a notable triumph. His reputation as an orator and as a stanced politician in his field of action was established from then on and was admitted by all the country. He returned the following year to devote himself to the exercise of his profession, delivering, nevertheless in the electoral campaign of 1855, two of his most convincing discourses in Ohio, pressing arguments for the republicans of that State: One in Columbus and the other in Cincinnati. Alluding in the last of these to the certainty of the near triumph of the Republicans in the nation, Mr. Lincoln made a sketch of what he believed to be the inevitable result of such a victory.

In the spring of 1860, Mr. Lincoln yielded to the urgent calls that came to him from the eastern part of the Union that he should enter the exciting electoral campaign in which they were then engaged in that section, delivering, in consequence, speeches in various places in Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and also in New York City; These were received everywhere with enthusiasm by large audiences. Without doubt, one of the most notable episodes of his life was the one that he made at Cooper Institute in New York, February 27, 1860. Let us give (forthwith) in full this master-work of the analysis of men and public events.

after having been introduced in the most complimentary terms by the venerable poet William Cullen Bryant, who presided on that occasion, he spoke in this manner."

* I printed some of the speech in full. The Cooper Institute address was on Lincoln's conflict with Douglas. Lincoln states precisely his position in regard to the important political issues of that day. He takes a statement made by Douglas in one of his speeches: "For I think, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better than we do so;" and says of it "I fully improve this, and I doubt it is a test for this discourse." He then states the "position" as follows: "Some the proper division of local from Federal authority as existing in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government to control us to slavery in our Federal Territories," and in a masterly way he unfolds the negative.

He also fully brings forward on the second principle of John Brown, in so many words--this addressed to the Southern people--"You say that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. So say it; and what is your proof. Brown's story: John Brown! John Brown and his band of men; and you have failed to illustrate a single republican in the former's story otherwise....."

John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt to induce men to act on a moral wrong of our land which the slaves refused to participate."

He denies the constitution of the Government that the Founding fathers gave to the slave states of their constitutional rights. The right allotted to the right of taking slaves into Federal Territories and holding them there as property. This Lincoln was a "freedom constitutional right." Your answer then I think should be that you still deny the Government will act as it likes in territories and thus the constitution is not slavery, on all points in dispute between you and us."

The conclusion is in the "Declaration":

"It is accordingly, possible that all parts of this great controversy will be at once, and in harmony one with another. Let us finally do our part to have it so-----"

"From the position of every is, we can get around to let it alone where it is, because that which is that is the inevitable result from its actual entrance in the nation out of us, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national territories, and to overcome us here in these free states-----Neither let us be allowed from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, or of ruinous to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes right, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it".... (Translated!)

Chapter VI.

Candidates and President

It is the practice born of the idiosyncrasy of republican institutions in the United States, and likewise necessary, in order to give organization and unity of action to the factions that dispute power, to hold political conventions in which each party in the manner of a popular congress, discusses and outlines a program of principles which the party proposes to support in a election and names the candidate that it believes most capable of representing those principles and converting them into realities. These assemblies, although without any legal color, adopt and follow in all proceedings, parliamentary rules and usages of legislative bodies, that are as familiar to all Americans as if they were an essential part of life. When it attempts to choose a candidate for the presidency, and to proclaim the principles that are to serve as the motto of the party, or the platform (according to political parlance in use) in the form that it is to be put before the people, these reunions, called conventions, composed of delegates from all parts of the union assume vast proportions and produce more agitation and enthusiasm than the solemn inauguration of a Congress.

May 16, 1860, the national convention of Republicans met in Chicago for the purpose of choosing candidates for President and Vice-president and of agreeing on the political program of those who were to be colour-bearers during the vigorous electoral campaign for which all parties prepared with enthusiastic fervor. The lesser tie convention, recently held in Charleston, dissolved without them having agreed on a common candidate for the two great wings in which the factions divided. The wing that the more

conservative constitute, wished to run any risk to make the candidacy of Douglas predominate; meanwhile the other faction aided by administrative influences, having the power to hinder his election, in virtue of forming more than one third of the assembly, showed itself equally obstinate in its resolution. The result was that a session called in Baltimore, did not succeed in conciliating the dissenters; but ended by dividing them, one accepting the candidacy of Douglas and Johnson, the other that of Breckinridge and Lane.

In this manner the division and ruin of the most powerful party, that had ever been organized in the United States was wrought about; a party which, with two or three exceptions, had governed the nation from the days of Jefferson, who is considered its founder.

Another middle-party called the "Union Constitutional" had been formed on the ruins of the old Whigs and some Democrats, also, called "Know-nothings"; which proposed as a candidate a Mr. Bell and the eminent orator Everett; but, like all "juste milieu" in times of crisis, it was destined to be easily crushed between the great masses.

By reason of the breaking up into factions of their formidable adversaries, the Democrats, circumstances arose highly favorable to the Republican party; and gave much interest to the great Chicago Convention.

The first two days were passed in organizing and drawing up the rules and regulations of the session, and the day of the nineteenth it proceeded to the voting in the midst of great excitement. One thousand two hundred delegates and an audience of more than eight thousand souls, were united under an immense hall of boards, here called a wigwag, from the name used by the

Indians of the north in their tribal festivities.

In the first returns Mr. Seward drew 173 votes, Mr. Lincoln 102, and the rest were distributed among the other seven candidates. In order to unite the scattered votes the Convention proceeded as was the custom, to a second vote, Lincoln obtaining 161 and Seward 184. In the third which took place immediately, Lincoln obtained 231, Seward remaining with 180. When the result of the election returns was announced the Ohio delegates changed their votes in favor of Mr. Lincoln, by which a three fourths majority in his favor was established.

The scene that followed had perhaps never been witnessed by a popular assembly. Such was the noise of the demonstrations, within and without the building, reciprocal congratulations and various manifestations of general delight that they continued without interruption for three fourths of an hour.

The vote having been made unanimous, the session ended with the nomination of Vice-President which fell on Mr. Hamlin, Senator from Maine.

An incident that is linked with the candidacy of Mr. Lincoln, although it occurred at another place a little before, is worthy of remembering as characteristic of the man and of the country that he was to represent in so remarkable a manner.

When Douglas was preferred to him for Senator by the Legislature of Illinois, notwithstanding the popular majority in Lincoln's favor, the Republicans of that State, which was the one of his adoption, united in a convention and pledged themselves to support him as a candidate for the future Presidency of the

United States. Lincoln was present at this convention as a spectator. An old democrat of Mason County brought and presented to the convention, decorated with showy ribbons and banners, two old wooden rails, that had been used near by, with this inscription in big letters.

Abraham Lincoln

The Rail Candidate

For President in 1860

"These two rails belong to a lot of three thousand cut in 1830 by Thomas Banks and Abraham Lincoln, whose father was the first settler of Mason County."

The incident was greeted with frenzied applause, and Mr. Lincoln was called on for a speech.

Rising from his seat he modestly acknowledged that he had cut timber for a fence, thirty years ago in the county of Mason, and that he believed from what they said that those rails that he had before his eyes formed a part of the product of his work as a rail-splitter.

The reputation of the able lawyer of Republican principles, already spread through out the United States, influenced the members of that party in other States of the Union, so they offer him their votes and influence. In the fall of 1859 he made numerous speeches in support of the cause.

It is peculiarly characteristic of Americans to honor with marked preference those who are known as self-made or self-educated men; thanks to the unconditional freedom of their institutions, which open to men of all classes and ages, according to talent and aptitudes, means of advancement. There are hundreds of these, let us say, courageous men, whose biographies fill volumes.

These books are in the hands of the people who read them in order to imitate some great man, from Franklin the poor printer who came to be one of the wisest men of his day, to Johnson the actual president of the United States. The latter was a tailor until he was twenty years old and up until that time his mother had taught him little more than how to read. He was not educated, but today he is known as one of the leaders of his country.

All of the United States were warned that with the nomination of Lincoln they had placed a finger in the wound. Possessing, as a man of the people, the sincere sympathies of the masses, he had more over the support of all the friends to the cause of liberty, independent of all party distinction. His recognized integrity and incorruptible honesty gave hope that with him prosperous times for the Republic should return.

The committee appointed to communicate his nomination to him encountered him in his modest home in Springfield; and at the first words of the discourse a smile was seen to throw its shadows on the large firm mouth and on his countenance that gave to those who saw him, for the first time, the impression of a sincere and affectionate nature, which had been shown to those who had known him before and were endeavoring now to honor and love him.

His answer was as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I tender to you, and through you to the Republican National Convention, and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honor done me, which you now formally announce. Deeply and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this high honor--a responsibility which I could almost wish had fallen upon some one of the far more eminent men and experienced statesmen whose distinguished names were before the convention--I shall, by your leave, consider more fully the resolutions of

the convention, designated the platform, and without any unnecessary or unreasonable delay respond to you, Mr. Chairman, in writing not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory, and the nomination gratefully accepted.

And now I will not longer defer the pleasure of taking you, and each of you, by the hand.

We did not delay in writing the following letter:

Springfield, Illinois
May 23, 1860

Hon. George Ashmun,
President of the Republican National Convention.

Sir: I accept the nomination tendered me by the convention over which you presided, and of which I am formally apprised in the letter of yourself and others, acting as a committee of the convention for that purpose.

The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanied your letter meets my approval; and it shall be my care not to violate or disregard it in any part.

Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the convention--to the rights of all the States and Territories and people of the nation; to the inviolability of the Constitution; and the perpetual union, harmony, and prosperity of all--I am most happy to cooperate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention.

Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

A. Lincoln

The division of the Democratic party that had been threatened in Charleston was consummated, subsequently, by the nomination of Douglas by one section and of Breckinridge by the other, as has been said.

Although the election of Lincoln under such circumstances was a sure thing, the electoral campaign was made notable by the sharp and revengeful language used in order to defame Lincoln and his followers.

November 6, 1860, Mr. Lincoln received 1,312,187 votes, that assured him the vote of the electoral colleges of nine,

ew Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, Oregon, and four from New Jersey; 100 in all; Douglas 1,375,157 votes, represented by 20 electors; Breckinridge 347,358 with 72 elector's and Bell 30,631 with 39 electors.

The moment had arrived for converting words into action; and for putting threats into practice; and to see whether the sanity should reach the point in some states of testing the life of the Republic.

Unfortunately a little time passed without doubt being dispelled. Men not only from one state but from almost all of them, not by the hundreds or the thousands, but by the hundred thousands were ready to place scurrilous hands on the Union, that safe-guard of the glory and strength of the nation.

South Carolina wished to assume full responsibility for making the initiative in the conspiracy against the interests of humanity. While this state was taking necessary steps for preparation, President Buchanan, with commendable pusillanimity, in his annual message, after pointing out the unconstitutionality of the act, declared explicitly that there were no constitutional powers to hinder the carrying through of the proposed measures by that seditious state.

Nor did he give a single order for the purpose of protecting and preserving the national property although he had been requested by the old army chief, to occupy United States forts along the Southern coasts.

Nothing better could have been desired by the conspirators. December 20, South Carolina secedes, and takes possession of the government arsenals and fortresses, placing them under the protection of the State flag. The government of Georgia followed the example taking possession of the forts that were defending its coast, January 3, 1861 and the following day another State Alabama, did likewise. Events of a more alarming nature followed immediately. Shots were fired on a ship that brought late re-enforcements to Fort Sumter; Mississippi declares itself absolved from the Union and was joined by Alabama, Florida, and Georgia. Nor did Texas and Louisiana remain behind. Members of the cabinet denied afterward having cooperated in the infernal deed; or if they did persist it was only in order to hasten its consummation. A new constitution, of provisional character was recognized by the delegates of the seven States then in rebellion, and a President and Vice-President were chosen.

Meanwhile, a committee composed of delegates from most of the free States and from those States intermediates with the slaves States anxiously desired in Washington to settle existing difficulties by means of a compromise. Many of them were working sincerely. Others would make the same disposition of the affair as they would with fallen leaves that covered the States already in rebellion. Finally, a series of resolutions on the basis of maintaining the Union was drawn up, which were sanctioned by a majority, and Congress immediately declared itself in recess until the first of March.

Notwithstanding that, February 11 the House of Representatives adopted unanimously a resolution, accepted a little afterwards

by the Senate, advocating an amendment to the Constitution by which, henceforth all national legislation in regard to slavery should be prohibited.

Some were willing to accept it entirely, and to abandon the so much debated question of slavery in the Territories, by means of the adoption of the Crittenden resolutions, which were voted down by the Senators from the South.

No resolution that did not diminish the national arms would have been satisfactory to the rebels. Jefferson Davis, chosen leader of the Confederation, "placing himself at the head of the rebellion in the temporary capital in Montgomery, Alabama, modestly defined the position, that his confederates were assuming in the conspiracy, in these terms;

"My most ardent desires," he said, "would remain satisfied, if, comprehending our mutual interests it should be permitted us to follow peacefully in our work of separation and existence, politically apart. But if that is denied, and our integrity and territorial jurisdiction violated, there will remain to us only the recourse of appealing to arms with firm resolution, and invoking the benedictions of Providence, in favor of our just cause."

He confirmed his position by the recommendation that a well trained army be organized, one much larger than would be necessary in time of peace.

CHAPTER VII

From Springfield To Washington

Already the hoarse mutterings of the threatened tempest could be heard; frightened hearts were hesitating; while the more courageous felt an indefinable anxiety; when on February 1, 1861, the President-elect, with his family, said good-bye to that rustic mansion, that unfortunately he should never see again.

As a great multitude of friends and neighbors had crowded together in the railway station for a parting hand-shake, he addressed the company in the following words; a notable speech from the depths of a truly courageous soul:

My friends: No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being, who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will surround me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

At all the cities on the route vast multitudes assembled in order to give him an oration. Finally in Toledo, a city in the State of Ohio, to satisfy the demands of the public, he appeared at the door of the car and spoke to them in this manner:

"I am leaving you in order to go to fill an office of national importance, surrounded as you know, by serious difficulties.

Nevertheless, let us believe as a poet has said: 'Behind the cloud the sun is always shining.' An affectionate farewell."

In Indianapolis on the night of that same day, he answered an official address of welcome in phrases whose familiar witty

simplicity concealed thoughts of a deeper nature. However, his views with respect to the subject that was occupying all minds were apparent. He said:

Fellow-citizens of the State of Indiana: I am here to thank you much for this magnificent welcome, and still more for the generous support given by your State to that political cause which I think is the true and just cause of the whole country and the whole world. Solomon says there is "a time to keep silence," and when men wrangle by the month with no certainty that they mean the same thing, while using the same word, it perhaps were as well if they would keep silence. The words "coercion" and "invasion" are much used in these days, and often with some temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. Let us get exact definitions of these words, not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by the use of words. What, then, is "coercion"? What is "invasion"? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent toward them, be "invasion"? I certainly think it would; and it would be "coercion" also if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importation, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all of these things be "invasion" or "coercion"? Do our professed lovers of the Union, but who spitefully resolve that they resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these on the part of the United States would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their great affection would seem to be exceedingly thin and airy. If sick, the little pills of the homeopathist would be much too large for them to swallow. In their view, the Union as a family relation would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of "free-love" arrangement, to be maintained only on "passional attraction." By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution; for that, by the bond, we all recognize. That position, however, a State cannot carry out of the Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is less than itself, and ruin all which is larger than itself. If a State and a county, in a given case, should be equal in extent of territory, and equal in number of inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the county? Would an exchange of names be an exchange of rights upon principle? On what rightful principle may a State, being not more than one fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation and then coerce a proportionally larger subdivision of itself in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country with its people, by merely calling it a State? Fellow-citizens, I am not asserting anything; I am merely asking questions for you to consider. And now allow me to bid you farewell.

Mr. President and Mr. Speaker and Members of the General Assembly of Ohio: It is true, as has been said by the president of the Senate that every great responsibility rests upon us in the position to which the votes of the American people have called me. I am conscious of that weighty responsibility. I cannot but think that you all know, that without a cause, without a purpose, why I should have a cause, there has fallen upon me a task upon which did not rest even upon the shoulders of his country; and so feeling, I can turn and look for that support without which it will be impossible for me to perform that great task. I now, then, add back to the American people, and to that God who has never forsaken them. Attention has been made to the interest felt in relation to the policy of the new constitution. In this I have received from some a charge of credit for having kept silence, and from others some derision. I still think that I was right.....

In the varying and frequently shifting scenes of the present, and without a precedent which could guide us to follow by the past, it has seemed fitting that before meeting upon the difficulties of the country I should have gained a view of the whole field, being at liberty to modify and change the course of policy as future events may render it always necessary.

I have not withdrawn alliance from any part of our society. It is a good thing that there is no more than society, for there is nothing else more. It is a consoling circumstance that even we look out there is nothing but people living together. We sustain different views upon political questions, but nobody is suffering anything. This is a most consoling circumstance, and from it we may conclude that all is well in this, political, and reliance on that that we can never forget this people.

Citizens, what I have said I have said after their attempts, and I will now come to a close.

February, 14 he went on to Pittsburgh, and it seems to

other speech during his journey, he said:

I fear that the great confidence placed in my ability is unfounded. Indeed, I am sure it is. Encumbered by vast difficulties as I am, nothing shall be wanting on my part, if sustained by God and the American people. I believe the devotion to the Constitution is equally great on both sides of the river. It is only the different understanding of that instrument that causes difficulty. The only dispute on both sides is, "What are their rights?" If the majority should not rule, who would be the judges? There is such a judge to be found? We should all be bound by the majority of the American people; if not, then the minority must control. Would that be right? Would it be just or generous? Assuredly not. I reiterate that the majority should rule. If I adopt a wrong policy, the opportunity for condemnation will occur in four years' time. Then I can be turned out, and a better man with better views put in my place.

Before leaving for Lowell the next day, he addressed

the following words to the people of "Littleton".

"In every short address I have made to the people, in every crowd through which I have passed of late, some allusion has been made to the present distracted condition of the country. It is natural to expect that I should say something on this subject; but to touch upon it at all would involve an elaborate discussion of a great many questions and circumstances, requiring more time than I can at present command, and would, perhaps, unnecessarily commit me upon matters which have not yet fully developed themselves. The condition of the country is an extraordinary one, and fills the mind of every patriot with anxiety. It is my intention to give this subject all the consideration I possibly can before finally deciding in regard to it, so that when I do speak it may be as nearly right as possible. When I do speak I hope I may say nothing in opposition to the spirit of the Constitution, contrary to the integrity of the Union, or which will prove injurious to the liberties of the people, or to the peace of the whole country. And, furthermore, when the time arrives for me to speak on this great subject, I hope I may say nothing to disappoint the people generally throughout the country, especially if the expectation has been based upon anything which I may have heretofore said. Notwithstanding the troubles across the river (the speaker pointing southwardly across the Tennessee, and adding), there is no crisis but an artificial one. That is there are to warrant the condition of affairs presented by our friends over the river. Take even their own view of the questions involved, and there is nothing to justify the course they are pursuing. I repeat, then, there is no crisis, excepting such a one as may be gotten up at any time by turbulent men aided by designing politicians. My advice to them, under such circumstances, is to keep cool. If the great American people only keep their powder on both sides of the line, the troubles will come to an end, and the question which now distracts the country will be settled, just as surely as all other difficulties of a like character which have originated in this government have been adjusted. Let the people on both sides keep their self-possession, and just as other clouds have cleared away in due time, so will this great nation continue to prosper as heretofore."

He then referred to the tariff regulations which were of great interest to the Pennsylvania coal and iron miners. He said:

"My political education strongly inclines me against a very free use of any of these means by the executive to control the legislation of the country. As a rule, I think it better that Congress should originate as well as perfect its measures without external bias. I therefore would rather recommend to every gentleman who knows he is to be a member of the next Congress to take an enlarged view, and test himself thoroughly, so as to contribute his part to such an adjustment of the tariff as shall produce a sufficient revenue, and in its other bearings, so far as possible, be just and equal to all sections of the country and classes of the people."

Arriving in Cleveland, Mr. Lincoln again referred to the

same subject:

It is, fellow-citizens, for the whole American people, and not for one single man alone, to advance the great cause of the Union and the Constitution. And in a country like this, where every man bears on his face the marks of intelligence, where every man's clothing, if I may so speak, shows signs of comfort, and every dwelling signs of happiness and contentment, where schools and churches abound on every side, the Union can never be in danger. I would, if I could, instil some degree of patriotism and confidence into the political mind in relation to this matter.

Frequent allusion is made to the excitement at present existing in our national politics, and it is as well that I should also allude to it here. I think that there is no occasion for any excitement. I think the crisis, as it is called, is altogether an artificial one. In all parts of the nation there are differences of opinion on politics; there are differences of opinion even here. You did not all vote for the person who now addresses you, although quite enough of you did for all practical purposes, to be sure.

That they do who seek to destroy the Union is altogether artificial. What is happening to hurt them? Have they not all their rights now as they ever have had? Do not they have their fugitive slaves returned now as ever? Have they not the same Constitution that they have lived under for seventy odd years? Have they not a position as citizens of this common country, and have we any power to change that position? (Cries of "No!") What then is the matter with them? Why all this excitement? Why all these complaints? As I said before, this crisis is altogether artificial. It has no foundation in fact. It can't be argued up, and it can't be argued down. Let it alone, and it will go down of itself.

Saturday he left for Buffalo where he arrived during the night, and was received by a vast assembly. The president of the one was chairman of the reception committee. On arriving at the hotel he replied to the mayor's address of welcome in the words:

Mr. Mayor and Fellow-citizens of Buffalo and the State of New York: I am here to thank you briefly for this grand reception given to me, not personally, but as the representative of our great and beloved country. Your worthy mayor has been allowed to mention, in his address to me, the fortunate and agreeable journey which I have had from home, on a rather circuitous route to the Federal capital. I am very happy that he was enabled to truthfully congratulate

myself and concerning that fact. It is true we have had nothing thus far to mar the pleasure of the trip. We have not been out alone by those who assisted in giving the election to me--I am not alone by them, but by the whole population of the country through which we have passed. This is as it should be. Had the election fallen to any other of the distinguished candidates instead of myself, under the peculiar circumstances, to say the least, it would have been proper for all citizens to have greeted him as you now greet me. It is an evidence of the devotion of the whole people to the Constitution, the Union, and the perpetuity of the liberties of this country. I am unwilling on any occasion that I should be so readily thought of as to have it suggested for a moment that these demonstrations are tendered to me personally. They are tendered to the country, to the institutions of the country, and to the perpetuity of the liberties of the country, for which these institutions were made and created.

Your worthy mayor has thought fit to express the hope that I may be able to relieve the country from the present, or, I should say, the threatened difficulties. I am sure I bring a heart true to the work. For the ability to perform it, I must trust in that Supreme Being who has never forsaken this favored land, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people. Without that assistance I shall surely fail; without it, I cannot fail. When we speak of threatened difficulties to the country, it is natural that it should be suggested that something should be said by myself with regard to particular measures. There were a large reflection, however, others will agree with me that, when it is considered that these difficulties are without precedent, and have never been acted upon by any individual situated as I am, it is most proper I should wait and see the developments, and get all the light possible, so that when I do speak authoritatively, I may be as near right as possible. When I shall speak authoritatively, I have to say nothing inconsistent with the Constitution, the Union, the rights of all the States, of each State, and of each section of the country, and not to disappoint the reasonable expectations of those who have confided to me their votes. In this connection allow me to say that you, as a portion of the great American people, need only to maintain your own course, stand up to your sober convictions of right, to your obligations to the Constitution, and act in accordance with those your convictions, and the clouds now on the horizon will be dispelled, and we shall have a bright and glorious future; and when this generation has passed away, tens of thousands will inhabit this country where only thousands inhabit it now. I do not propose to address you at length; I have no voice for it. Allow me again to thank you for this magnificent reception, and bid you farewell.*

*[elements included in this chapter other speeches made by
 could before reaching Robinson which I do not think necessary
 give here as they do not contain any really great wisdom.]

He ends the chapter by giving a brief account of Lincoln's
 first journey from Philadelphia to Washington. (Translator's note)

CHAPTER VIII

The New Administration

A few days after his arrival in Washington, Lincoln was welcomed by the Mayor of the municipality, and to this welcome he replied as follows:

Mr. Mayor: I thank you, and through you the municipal authorities of this city who accompany you, for this welcome. And as it is the first time in my life, since the present course of politics has presented itself in this country, that I have said anything publicly within a region of country where the institution of slavery exists, I will take this occasion to say that I think very much of the ill feeling that has existed and still exists between the people in the section from which I came and the people here, is dependent upon a misunderstanding of one another. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to assure you, Mr. Mayor, and all the gentlemen present, that I have not now, and never have had, any other than as kindly feelings toward you as to the people of my own section. I have not now, and never have had, any disposition to treat you in any respect otherwise than as my own neighbors. I have not now any purpose to withhold from you any of the benefits of the Constitution, under any circumstances, that I would not feel myself constrained to withhold from my own neighbors; and I hope, in a word, that when we shall become better acquainted--and I say it with great confidence--we shall like each other better. I thank you for the kindness of this reception.

And the following night he acknowledged a serenade which was given in his honor by the Republican Association:

My friends: I cannot but say that this is a beautiful night to be in. And it has been so for many years. I have lived in this city of Washington under circumstances which have separated me from those under which we should have been united. I am here for the purpose of taking an official position upon the part of the people, almost all of whom were violently opposed to me, and have yet agreed to me, as I suppose.

I propose no lengthy address to you. I duly recognize you, as I did on yesterday, when your worthy mayor and board of Aldermen called upon me. That I thought much of the ill feeling that has existed between you and the people of your surroundings and that I could from upon whom I came, the President, and not certainly upon a misunderstanding.

I hope that, if things shall go along as now--as they are I believe we all desire they may, I may have it in my power to remove something of this misunderstanding; that I may be enabled to convince you, and the people of your section of the country,

that we regard you as in all things our equals, and in all things entitled to the same respect and the same treatment as we claim for ourselves; that we are in no wise disposed if it were in our power to deprive you, to deprive you of any of your rights under the Constitution of the United States or even erroneously to split hairs with you in regard to those rights, but are determined to give you, as far as lies in our hands, all your rights under the Constitution--not partially, but fully and fairly. I hope that, by thus dealing with you, we will become better acquainted, and be better friends.

And now, my friends, with these few remarks, and again returning my thanks for this opportunity, and expressing my desire to hear a little more of your good music, I bid you good-night.

Never in the history of this nation has the liberal address of any President been looked forward to with such living anxiety, as was Mr. Lincoln's.

However, the people in those States most decidedly in favor of the Government, and in those that were free from slavery, and the majority of his fellow-citizens of Illinois, were waiting with confidence the speech, whatever it should be. The people took heart, however, without doubt, that this speech, in one way or another, in a direct or indirect manner, was destined to serve as a remedy for the ills of the country. A certain class of people who did not know the man, was however, against all odds, that such concessions would be made to the rebels, that would, over the present difficulties, the progress, or that year would return, when we were selling their property with their goods. They hoped that there would be some way to go to the rebels without being collected by war.

There were others who could only be satisfied with the most positive and unqualified denunciation of all the rebel claims, already anticipating the manner in which they were to be treated. either were in one looking to the effect that acts of violence were being perceived that would prevent the living of the country.

Taking all necessary precautions in order to protect himself from the latter risk, Mr. Lincoln appeared in the eastern wing of the capitol at the appointed hour and took the oath of office, which was administered by the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, Taney.

After this ceremony had been performed, Mr. Lincoln, in a clear steady voice read the following speech in the presence of more than ten thousand of his fellow-citizens. *

* (Here Sarmiento gives the address in full, but for our purpose a brief summary is sufficient.)

{The inaugural was addressed particularly to the South and its tone throughout was pacific. He stated definitely that he did not propose "directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery" in the States where it existed. He did not believe he had the lawful right even if he desired to do so. He made clear his intention of upholding the fugitive slave law and spoke at length concerning the description of the Union, giving his views that may be briefly summed up: The "Union is perpetual"..... In view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken..... I shall take care..... that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States..... "We can not separate."

He entreats the South to "think calmly and well upon this whole subject" and concludes with the well known passage:

"In your hands, my disenthralled fellow-country-men, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of Civil War. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors....."

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching



from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.")]

One point was determined in this inauguration, whatever uncertainties were floating around. There would be an executive power at least. It was not now a Buchanan who was directing. Loyal men of all colors breathed more freely. At the same time the impulse was present to bring about an honorable reconciliation, if that were possible. If then by that firm and clear explanation of the plans and purposes of the new administration, the blow which all desired to avoid could be averted it was consoling to feel, as each one of those who heard Mr. Lincoln on that memorable day did feel, that there was at the helm a man who had firm faith in organic law, and who so far from favoring the dissolution of the Union, possessed sufficient vitality and strength to defend the Union from interior and exterior dangers.

The announcement of the President's Cabinet, composed likewise of the most intelligent men of his party, the majority of whom had believed themselves worthy of figuring as candidates for the high office that he was discharging, inspired the confidence of those who desired the welfare of the country. The able pen of the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, was put into play in order to communicate to European governments, the true state of affairs, through new ministers abroad. As soon as it was possible all the offices were purged of disloyal employees, though the deception and subterfuge that constituted a great part of the capital of the rebellion, retarded this work longer than was desired.

The dynasty of Davis, with headquarters in Montgomery, issued a decree to organize a Confederate Army and two persons, one of Alabama, and the other of Georgia were chosen three days later as "Confederate Agents" authorized to negotiate a treaty. The President refused to recognize such agents, giving them, by request, a copy of the inaugural address containing a full explanation of his views.

March 21, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, elected Vice-President of the traitors of Montgomery, although until then he was considered one of the conservatives, as certainly he was one of the most intelligent conspirators, quitted all discussion concerning the new Constitution that he and his Confederates in rebellion were protecting. On that occasion he said:

"The new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relative to our peculiar institution, African Slavery as it exists amongst us, the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the 'rock upon which, the old Union would split.' He was right. That was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically.

It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was that sooner or later, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away.....



That new movement is founded upon exactly the opposite
idea; its foundation is the Will, its cornerstone is the
fact that the soul is not dead in the white man,
that slavery--subordination to the superior race--is his natural
and social condition.

.....

"It is more than, as I have stated, one hundred years in
 fully stated; and I cannot recall any one to doubt the ultimate
 success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the
 civilized and enlightened world....."

"This stone which was rejected by the first builders, is become the corner of the corner" in our new building."

April 13 a Commissioner from the State of Virginia appeared before the President. This state was, at that time, threatening the position that it would join those states already in rebellion, as soon as it was advised that the Union was in the hands of the rebels. The object of the visit was to discuss the situation and to secure the aid of the President in the event of a rebellion.

April 12, 1861.--Reply to a Committee from the Virginia Convention.

Men. William Ballard Preston, Alexander T. W. Stewart, George
F. Randolph, Sen.

Gentlemen: As a committee of the Virginia Convention now in session, you present the following resolution in these words:

heres, in the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in connection with the extremely inferior and unorganized and unregulated



of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace: therefore

Resolved, that a committee of three delegates be appointed by this Convention to wait upon the President of the United States, present to him this preamble and resolution, and respectfully ask him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.

Adopted by the Convention of the State of Virginia,
Richmond, April 8, 1861.

In answer I have to say that, having at the beginning of my official term expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and some mortification I now learn that there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue. Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give of my purposes.

As I then and therein said, I now repeat: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere." I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in the possession of the government when it came to my hands.

But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess, if I can, like places which had been seized before the government was devolved upon me. And in every event I shall, to the extent of my ability, repel force by force. In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall perhaps cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the government justifies and possibly demands this.

I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded as yet belonging to the government of the United States as much as they did before the supposed secession.

Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon a border of the country.

From the fact that I have quoted a part of the inaugural

address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification.

Fort Sumter fell the day following the reception of these Commissioners, after the exhaustion of all recourse at the disposition of the government, order to hinder it which was then considered a catastrophe. There remained but one interpretation of the act, that is: henceforth all reconciliation was impossible. There had been recourse to arms; the power and authority of the United States had been challenged, and none could boast of loyalty who must hesitate an instant. If, in spite of all, there were yet some, who stuck to the illusion that a compromise could still save the nation, Abraham Lincoln did not belong to that number.

CHAPTER II

THE CALL TO ARMS

Fort Sumter fell, but the nation was up and doing, with only one thought. The Free States were determined to crush the rebellion, and even those who were sympathizing with it, or it may be, the traitors who were taking shelter in the loyal States, preferred to follow the current.

The people were beginning to realize that revolution was coming, and for the sake of property and comfort, even the rebels that they were expecting and for which they were working in secret, should come. But as the great mass of people would not admit the possibility of a revolution, and as continued the order of the day, until the hour which was at hand and finished.

April 15, 1861 the President issued his first proclamation of war.

Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past and are being, and the rebellion thereof contracted, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the courts by law:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress said rebellions, and to cause the laws to be fully executed.

The details for this object will be most fully recommended to the State authorities through the War Department.

I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, sustain, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our national Union, and the perpetuity of popular government; and to redress wrongs already long enough endured.

I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces

which called forth will probably be to regenerate the north, plant, and prosperity which have been seized from the Union; and in every regard the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the public interests, to avoid any levitation, any obstruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country.

And I hereby command the several Governors and Commissioners to forward to the President and to the Secretary of State, within twenty days from date.

Knowing that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I am hereby, in virtue of the power is conferred by the Constitution, Chapter 1st, Section 1, of Congress, to declare and to give effect to their laws, and to assemble at their respective capitals, at twelve o'clock noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, there and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 10th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEYMOUR, Secretary of State.

In response to this proclamation enthusiastic public meetings were held in all of the loyal States. Every party device was hurried temporarily; and enlistment was almost universal. Washington, which at one time was in imminent danger, was soon so well defended that it was declared free from all risk. No one, or very few, doubted that with the forces called to arms. The rebellion would be stifled in the beginning, though the most far-seeing, the minority, were shaking their heads and saying that a million men is called for.

The occasion had arrived when the border States should decide between staying in the Union or favoring the rebels more or less reservedly. Promtly, Mason, governor of Kentucky said: "Kentucky shall not contribute troops for the wicked intent of subjugating their brothers of the Southern States."

*The reference here is to the first call for 75,000 volunteers to serve for three months issued by Lincoln two days after the fall of Fort Sumter. [Franklin's note]

letcher of Virginia declared: "The Virginia militia will not be placed at the disposition of the powers at Washington for the cause of object that they have in view," and on the seventh [April] the State was persuaded to agree in secret to an order of secession, whose bitter fruit it was destined to reap so promptly and so disastrously. Immediately preparations for defense were begun. The Executives of Tennessee and North Carolina refused likewise to comply with the orders of the Government. In the same manner many from Arkansas joined the Confederacy.

How did the concave of rebels in Montgomery receive the enlistment of troops? They made jest of it.

The first blood poured out in the war was on the streets of Baltimore April 19. Troops from Massachusetts passing through that city for the defence of the common capital, were attacked by a mob instigated and urged on by men of wealth and social position. The State itself continued to hesitate between loyalty and treason.

Maryland would have certainly embraced the cause of the South, if its geographical position had been different. The Governor, nevertheless, was greatly inclined toward supporting the Government [Federal], although the difficult circumstances in which he was placed imposed on him the necessity of governing with much tact and discretion.

He purposed that no more troops be sent by way of Baltimore. The day following the attack the President received the communication that contained that moderate request by the following letter:

Washington,
April 20, 1861

Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown.

Gentlemen: Your letter by Messrs. Wood, Hobbs, and Trane is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed.

For the future troops must be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them through Baltimore. Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning in the presence of these gentlemen, "March them around Baltimore, and not through it." I sincerely trust the General, on fuller reflection, will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it. By this a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I trust you will exert your influence to prevent this.

For and over I shall do all in my power for peace consistently with the maintenance of the government.

Your obedient servant,

Abraham Lincoln.

after, to see how much more of the same kind of
 thing of value is possible. The only way to do this is to
 of the kind of thing in the world. It is not possible to
 by the way, they would get the thing in the world to
 that.

Chapter X

The Action of Congress

The first session of Congress during the administration of Mr. Lincoln opened July 4, 1861, according to the summons.

On that occasion of the executive presented the following message.*

*[Sarmiento gives the message in full. A brief summary of which is as follows:

In contrast to Lincoln's inaugural address this speech is warlike rather than pacific. It is a strong argument for the right of the central government to exercise sovereign power, and for the duty of the American people to give their lives for the Union, at the same time expressing regret that "The executive found the duty of employing the war power in defense of the government forced upon him."

He made the point that this issue embraced "more than the fate of the United States. It represents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy--a government of the people by the same people--can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes."

We also made an appeal for the "plain people." He said "This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men--to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life....."

I am most happy to believe that the plain people understood and appreciate this."] (*Translator's note*)

As will be seen, this document expressed in strong language, made public the facts on which the rebellion, in the state in which it had then arrived, was founded.

It may be asserted, without apprehension, that the message of none of the Presidents had succeeded in being read and understood by the common people as those of Mr. Lincoln

himself, the political master of the people.

Congress appropriated five hundred million dollars, and ordered a call to arms of five hundred thousand volunteers; it proposed that a regular loan within the nation should be raised; it raised the taxes in order to increase the national revenues; it sanctioned a law for a direct tax; it adopted all of the most moderate measures within reach with respect to the confiscation of the property of rebels; it legalized the official acts of the President during the recess; and the House of Representatives with the discrepancy of only two votes, sanctioned the following resolution:

"Be it resolved by the United States House of Representatives that the present deplorable civil war has been kindled on this country by the disunionists of the Southern States, actually rebelled against the Constitutional Government and have met in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency, Congress laying aside all questions of procedure, will confine itself alone to the filling of its obligations with respect to the whole country; that this war is not supported on our part with the desire of oppression, nor with the intention of conquering or of subduing, or of exercising authority or of interfering in the rights and government institutions of the States, but of defending and maintaining the Government of the Constitution, and of preserving the Union without injury to the dignity, equality, and rights of the various States; and that the war will cease as soon as these objectives were obtained."

July 31 the Union flag under the command of General G. B. Russell,

and the most excellent direction of the veteran Scott, of whose offensive movement against the rebels of Virginia so much was expected, suffered a serious defeat at the battle of Bull Run. They advanced boasting of gaining the victory for their lives; and retreated wounded, in pain, and in a confused mass. For a moment all loyal hearts were discouraged; vague fears entered the soul of the people; if Washington should be captured; all was lost.

However, it was only for an instant. The reaction followed. Washington, which could have been taken easily and plundered, if the rebels had known how to obtain profit from their victory, was securely fortified and amply guarded. Then it was not understood that Bull Run was necessary for the discipline of the army; a school in which all learned something; but unfortunately not as much as they should have learned. That came later.

A PAUSE IN THE FIGHT

As was expected, the victory of Bull Run emboldened the Confederates no little. The President, in his message, showed himself exultant and full of confidence.

He said, "speaking of subjugating a people so united and determined, is to speak a language that is incomprehensible. The people instinctively resist every attack against their right and liberties."

"The problem is, should they leave it for their enemies to decide whether the war lasts one, three, five years. It will last until the enemy has retired from their frontiers; until their political rights, their altars, and their superstitions are free from invasion. Then, and only then will they be left to enjoy in peace the resolutions that have been passed by the power of Providence aided by courageous spirits and strong arms."

July 28, a new commanding officer of the 1st of the 1st was appointed by the recommendation of General Scott himself. This was the young George B. Meade, who was to try and distinguish himself by having conducted with brilliant results the campaign of West Virginia.

With the exception of one characteristic this officer was related to a new generation, devoted to the cause, and willing to appear as impossible that he could be defeated and, nevertheless, working for his own laurels.

The General devoted himself to organizing, training, and providing necessities for the army. In the few hours he was continually re-informed.

August 12 the following proclamation was issued:

Whereas a joint committee of both houses of Congress has united on the President of the United States and requested him to "recommend a day of public prayer, humiliation, and fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnity, and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of these States, his blessings on their arms, and a speedy restoration of peace":

And whereas it is fit and becoming in all words, at all times to acknowledge and receive the supreme government of God; to bow in humble submission to his chastisements; to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions, in the full conviction that the just of the Lord is the beginning of victory; and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offenses, and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action:

And whereas when our own beloved country, once by the blessing of God, united, prosperous, and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation and as individuals, to bow in worship before him and to pray for his mercy--to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though most justly deserved; that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the re-establishment of law, order, and peace throughout the wide extent of our country; and that the inalienable boon of civil and religious liberty secured under his guidance and blessing by the labors and sufferings of our fathers, may be restored in all its original excellence:

Therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do appoint the last Thursday in September next as a day of humiliation, prayer, and fasting for all the people of the nation. And I do earnestly recommend to all the people, and especially to all ministers and teachers of religion, of all denominations, and to all heads of families, to observe and keep that day, according to their several creeds and codes of worship, in all humility and with all religious solemnity, to the end that the united prayer of the nation may ascend to the Throne of Grace, and bring down plentiful blessings upon our country.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed, this twelfth day of August, A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-one of the Independence of the United States of America the sixtieth.

Abraham Lincoln

By the President: William H. Hunt, Secretary of State.

Four days afterwards the President issued a general prohibition of all commercial intercourse between the rebel states, except the port of Virginia that was west of the Allegheny mountains, and the rest of the United States, confining the merchandise with the vessels and vessels conveying the same, so likewise the vessels that deviated the ports of the United States; however, leaving open the door to those claims that should be presented to the secretary of the Treasury, and should result in some provision in a suitable manner.

At the very beginning of the struggle in the rebellion, it was to have been done with a view of rebel states, forbidding from then on the difficulty of solving it.

From 1861 General A. Miller was considered the narrow "confederate of war." As for General A. Miller in a speech to the inhabitants of the South he had asserted, that not only would they refrain from interfering with the slaves, but on the contrary, the forces of the states would repress with an iron hand all tendencies toward insurrection of their part.

In a letter to General A. Miller from Secretary Seward an attempt was made to solve this question, realizing that the Government of the United States was executing the war in order to maintain the Union and to preserve to the states all of those ^{rights} ~~rights~~ recognized by the Constitution; and recommending that ¹ ~~that~~ fugitive slaves, notwithstanding, should be used in the service of the United States during the war, and that Congress should make appropriate laws to be given to the slave-states who remained loyal.

Soon afterwards, General Fremont, who was then in a military division in Mississippi, ordered martial law and proclaimed in all the rebel states of his jurisdiction, for those words should be:

All laws or orders of the Government which have taken from the United States or which should be removed from taken in active part with the enemies is wrong. It will be continued to public use, the slaves that they themselves being given liberty."

This order violated the act dated prior to it, and could only be justified by reason of pressing military necessity. This was the impulse for an official letter from the President expressed in the following terms:

Washington, D. C.
September 3, 1861

Major-General Fremont.

My dear Sir: Two points in your proclamation of August 25 give me some anxiety:

First: Should you shoot a man, according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best men in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. It is, therefore, my order that you allow no man to be shot under the proclamation without first having my approbation or consent.

Second: I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property and the ill-treating slaves of traitorous owners, will alienate Southern Union friends and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of Congress entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and a copy of which act I herewith send you.

This letter is written in a spirit of caution, and not of censure. I send it by special messenger, in order that it may certainly and speedily reach you.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln

General Fremont, who was in charge of the expedition on the coast of South Carolina, received the order to comply with it when had been agreed to in the field to General Miller. When authorized to act by his instructions, in special cases; and particular circumstances could be made to do it, as in the case

into squadrons, or as dragoon, etc., in the army; but not proceeding to the general treatment of the Negro.

The question was not to be solved until much later, when the hand of the President should give it body and form, clear, definite, and unequivocal.

The battle of Bull Run, one of the first that was fought under the direction of the new general in chief, which occurred in October, was only a second edition of Bull Run: though on a smaller scale, fortunately. An evasion of all responsibility was at upon throwing the blame from McClellan to General Stone, and the indignation of the country was appeased.

Immediately after this expedition the resignation of the Veteran, Scott, brought the promotion of McClellan. General Scott's resignation was received with words of approval and praise for the services rendered to the United States during his long and brilliant career.

With his resignation, General McClellan was made General in Chief of the entire army. The autumn months passed--clear and colorful as if made for fighting, if there was ever to be any--but there was no fighting in the army of the Potomac, except skirmishes, reconnoitring, numerous reviews.

When winter came, the camp was abandoned for a dry post. The Grand Army now completely organized, equipped, trained entered--battle? No, winter quarters.

A disloyal portion of the Southern people have, during the whole year, been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union. A nation which endures domestic division is exposed to dismemberment abroad; and one party, if not both, is sure, sooner or later, to invite foreign intervention. Nations thus tempted to interfere are not always able to resist the enticements of expediency and unscrupulous ambition. It is our duty to be vigilant under such influences, and to be prepared to meet any and all attempts to injure them.

The disloyal citizens of the United States who have offered the ruin of our country in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad, have received less patronage and encouragement than they justly expected. If it were just to suppose as the invaders have seemed to suppose, that foreign nations in this case, disregarding all moral, social and treaty obligations, would act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce including, especially, the acquisition of cotton those nations would not have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly through the destruction than through the preservation of the Union. If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I can quite understand the argument could be made to show that they can reach their aim more readily and surely by aiding to crush this rebellion than by giving encouragement to it.

The Principal lever relied on by the insurgents for exciting foreign nations to hostility against us, we already intimated, is the subversion of commerce. These nations however, not improbably ever from the first time it was the Union which made us well our foreign as our domestic commerce. They can scarcely have failed to perceive that the effort for disunion produces the greatest difficulty; and that one strong nation standing over the five weak and more extensive, valuable, and valuable resources than our the more nation broken in small fragments.

It is not my intention to revive our discussions with foreign states, because, whatever might be their views or dispositions, the integrity of our country and the stability of our government mainly depend, not upon them, but on the loyalty, virtue, patriotism, and with the usual conventions, is herewith admitted.

I venture to say it will be long before we have produced evidence of liberality toward foreign powers that we have practical our entire sphere of legislation, and with the usual firmness maintaining our own rights and laws.

Since, however, it is assumed that there, as in every other state, foreign dangers necessarily attend commerce

difficulties, I recommend that adequate and ample resources be allotted for maintaining the water defenses on every side. While under this general recommendation provision for defense of our sea-coast line readily occurs to the mind, I also in the same connection call the attention of Congress to our great lakes and rivers. It is believed that some fortifications and depots of arms and munitions, with harbor and navigating improvements, all at well-selected points upon them, could be of great importance to the national defense and preservation. I ask attention to the views of the Secretary of War, expressed in his report upon the same general subject.

I deem it of importance that the loyal regions of East Tennessee and western North Carolina should be connected with Kentucky and other faithful parts of the Union by railroad. I therefore recommend as a military measure that Congress provide for the construction of such road as speedily as possible. Kentucky no doubt, will cheerfully and, through her legislature, make the most judicious selection of a line. The northern terminus must connect with some existing railroad; and whether the route shall be from Lexington or Nicholasville to the Cumberland Gap, or from Lebanon to the Tennessee line, in the direction of Knoxville, or an even still different line can easily be determined. Kentucky and the Federal Government cooperating, the work can be completed in a very short time; and when done it will be not only of war and peace importance, but also a valuable permanent improvement, worth the cost in all the future.

Some treaties, designed chiefly for the interests of commerce, and having no grave political importance, have been negotiated, and will be submitted to the Senate for their consideration.

Although we have failed to induce some of the commercial powers to adopt a desirable moderation of the rigor of maritime war, we have removed all obstructions from the way of this humane reform, except such as the hurry of temporary and accidental occurrence.

I invite your attention to the correspondence between Her Britannic Majesty's minister accredited to this Government, and the Secretary of State, relative to the detention of the British ship *Cartagena*, in June last, by the United States steamer *Massachusetts*, for a supposed breach of the blockade. As this detention was occasioned by an obvious misapprehension of the facts, and as justice requires that we should credit an illigant act not founded in strict right, as sanctioned by public law, I recommend that an appropriation be made to satisfy the reasonable demand of the owners of the vessel for her detention.

I repeat the recommendation of my predecessor, in his annual message to Congress in December last, in regard to the disposition of the surplus which will probably remain after satisfying the claims of American citizens against China, pursuant to the awards of the commissioners under the act of the 24 of March, 1860. If, however, it should not be deemed advisable to carry that recommendation into effect, I would suggest that authority be given for liquidating the principal,

over the proceeds of the warlike referred to, in good securities, with a view to the satisfaction of such other just claims of our citizens against China as are not unlikely to arise hereafter in the course of our extensive trade with that empire.

By the act of the 14th of August last, Congress authorized the President to instruct the commanders of suitable vessels to defend themselves against, and to capture, pirates. This authority has been exercised in a single instance only. For the more effectual protection of our extensive and valuable commerce, in the western seas especially, it seems to me that it would also be advisable to authorize the commanders of sailing vessels to recapture any prizes which pirates may make of United States vessels and their cargoes, and the consular courts, now established by law in western countries, to adjudge to the prize, in the event that this should not be objected to by the local authorities.

If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Egypt and Liberia, I am unable to discern it. Unwilling, however, to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them without the sanction of Congress, I submit for your consideration the expediency of an appropriation for maintaining a charge d'affaires near each of those nations. It does not admit of doubt that important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them.

The operations of the treasury during the period which has elapsed since your adjournment have been conducted with signal success. The patriotism of the people has aided at the disposal of the government the large sums loaned by the public vigilance. Much of the national loan has been taken by citizens of the industrial classes whose confidence in their country's faith, and zeal for their country's deliverance from present peril, have induced them to contribute to the support of the government the whole of their limited capabilities. This fact increases peculiar obligations to economy in disbursement and energy in action.

The revenue from all sources, including loans, for the financial year ending on the 30th June, 1861, was \$20,322,200.27, and the expenditures for the same period, including payments on account of the public debt, were \$24,075,224.47; leaving a balance in the treasury, on the 1st July, of \$4,246,975.80. For the first quarter of the financial year ending on the 30th September, 1861, the receipts from all sources, including the balance of 1st of July, were \$10,322,200.27, and the expenses \$10,322,200.27; leaving a balance on the 1st October, 1861, of \$4,246,975.80.

The last ray of hope for preserving the Union seemingly expired at the assault upon Fort Sumter; and a general review of what has occurred since may not be unprofitable. That was unfortunately uncertain then is much better defined and more distinct now; and the great mass of events is clearly in the right direction. The insurgents confidently claimed a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line; and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehension on this point. This, however, was soon settled definitely, and on the right side. North of the line, noble little Delaware led off right from the first. Maryland

and made to seem as if the Union. Her soldiers were recruited, bridges were burned, and railroads torn up within her limits, and for many days, at one time, without the ability to bring a single railroad over her rail to the coast. Her bridges and railroads are repaired and open to the Government; she already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union and none to the enemy; and her people, at a regular election, have sustained the Union by a large majority and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate or any coalition. Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly, and, I think, unanimously, ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is completely quiet, and, I believe, cannot again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, neither of which could furnish a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than forty thousand in the field for the Union, while of their citizens certainly not more than a third of that number, and those of doubtful character and doubtful existence, are in arms against it. After a somewhat bloody struggle of months, winter closes on the Union people of western Virginia, leaving them masters of their own country.

An insurgent force of about 1,000, for some time dominating the narrow peninsular region constituting the counties of Accomac and Northampton, and known as the coast in shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms, and the people there have renewed their allegiance to and accepted the protection of the old flag. This leaves no armed insurrectionist north of the Potomac or east of the Chesapeake.

Also we have obtained a footing at each of the isolated points, on the southern coast, of Mattamuskeet, Fort Mifflin, Roanoke Island, near Savannah, and Ship Island; and we likewise have some general accounts of similar movements in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and Tennessee.

These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily and certainly southward.

From the first taking of our national census to the last are seventy years; and we find our population at the end of the period eight times as great as it was at the beginning. The increase of these other things which men deem desirable has been even greater. We thus have, at one view, that the popular principle, applied to government, through the machinery of the States and the Union, has produced in a given time; and also that, if firmly maintained, it promises for the future. There are already more than three millions of people in the Union, and if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain 400,000,000. The struggle of to-day is not altogether for to-day--it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which awaits have devolved upon us.

Charles Lincoln.

Washington, December 3, 1861.

In this session, a bill for issuing bonds was passed, and a plan for issuing a bill for the purpose of increasing the revenue of the Treasury, was also adopted, providing a basis for the payment of interest on national loans. The bill, also, stated that the Government might have confidence in the national currency and its circulation. Another law concerning national currency was passed by Congress.

It contained special provisions in regard to currency, and limited the circulation of national currency to the life of the national currency.

The bill was passed on the 10th of May, and its provisions were approved by the President.

Slavery

It was not possible to ignore the question of slavery, which rendered by its intimate connection with military operations and came to itself to attract public attention. This subject had always been alive in the soul of Mr. Lincoln. Therefore it was easier to say that it was not a passing struggle in which the country was engaged but a fight to death with rebels and devoted to emancipation. Lincoln's action, however, was not entirely independent. If he had been allowed to simply take the initiative here that the great mass of the people were behind it, he would have acted in a different manner from that in which he was forced to act. Taking into consideration the national policy of the administration, the entire result of antecedents, complicated by diverse interests and demands that a policy could be made, it is not surprising that there was a difference of opinion on this question and among its own political supporters, and even those loyalty and devotion to their country were on opposite sides had contrary views.

Lincoln preferred to adopt the strict policy, in the actual state of affairs, or not taking the risk, at all a serious incident to bringing it to the front at the public assembly, the day. He he presented frequently, that it was to have to act unilaterally in order to settle the matter promptly. He was also that this would satisfy some of his political friends, nevertheless, his mind was not moved by any consideration except for the best interest of the country, and above that he was right all.

Which of the parties seemed to have been relative to the question, and a resolution was passed in this sense in this assembly:

March 6, 1862.--MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO CONGRESS.

ABOLITION.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies, which shall be substantially as follows:

Resolved, That the United States shall be forever in with our States which are not granted Abolition of slavery, giving no such act to remain in it, to be used by such States, in its legislation, in connection for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.

If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately before the country be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it. The Federal Government will find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that this Government will ultimately be forced to recognize the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such a line will then say, "The Union for which we have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section." To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion; and the initiation of emancipation would totally deprive them of it as to all the States initiating it. The point is not that all the States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation; but that while the offer is usually made to all, the more Northern shall, by such initiation make it certain to the more Southern that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed confederacy. I say "initiation" because, in my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all. In the most financial or pecuniary view, our number of Congress, with the common sense and fore-sight reports before him, has readily and for himself has very soon the current proceedings of this war would surely say, of fair value than, all the slaves in the United States. But a proposition on the part of the Federal Government with no available or a right by Federal authority to interfere with slavery, with in State rights, interfering, as it does, the absolute control of the subject in our case to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

In the usual message last December, I thought fit to say, "The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed." I said it is not possible, and not for that. War has been made, and must more to be, an indispensable means to this end. A practical re-organization of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, peace continues, the war must also continue; and it is desirable to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously expedient are at this juncture, toward ending the struggle, must and will come.

The proposition now made, though an offer only, I think it may be returned no offense to me whether the preliminary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and give to persons concerned than are the institution and efforts in it, in the present aspect of affairs?

While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important practical results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

ADVERSE INFLUENCE.

The principal consideration that had influence in support of the measure, was that the leaders of the insurrection would be forced to recognize the independence of some part of the seceded States; and that all the slave States to the north of that part would say that since the Union for which they had fought had been dissolved, there was nothing to hinder their uniting with the Southern States. It was believed that the rebellion would come to an end after the rebels were deprived of this hope, and that the Northern States taking the initiative in regard to emancipation would bring about their defeat.

At all events, the President was the practical recognition of the most practicable, leaving to each State and to the people most directly interested in the affair, the ultimate decision. He did not believe the subject was over which the Federal Government had authority.

At the same time Congress, in order to get as near as possible slavery in the Federal capital, and to secure the immediate jurisdiction, by force of law, of the subject;

"An act for the liberation of certain persons subject to servitude of labor in the District of Columbia."

General Hunter, military commander for the rebel states of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina had issued a proclamation in May by which, subject as they were to martial law, declared that martial law and slavery were entirely inconsistent in a free country, and therefore ordered that the slaves from the three States mentioned should forever be free.

The President, although without having official notice of the step thus advanced, was at least with a view to his obligation, repudiating the declaration, as not emanating from competent authority.

I further make known that, whether it be consistent for me, as commander in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free, and whether, if any that in my duty, the government in exercise must consider them, the question which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field.

Before Congress finished its work, and while the country was disconcerted over the unfortunate result of the Peninsular Campaign, the President invited the members and representatives of the Border-States to a conference, with the purpose of ascertaining their views on the subject and ascertained that the recent events rendered necessary to the overthrow of the rebellion, demanded that they must strike a blow to the institution of slavery within a period not very remote. The speech that he gave there, notwithstanding its brevity and practical wisdom, did not decide, however, the question of how they were to proceed, and twenty days later.

"If the war continues long, as it must if the effort be not sooner attained, the legislation in your States will be authorized

by more friction and confusion--by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. The only thing for you and for your people to take this step which it once started, the war has rendered impracticable for the moment is sure to be wholly lost to my wife's want! You are better to thus save the money which she so often for ever in the war! How much better to do it while we can, lest the very long time we shall have to do it! The much better for you as seller, and the nation as buyer, to sell out and buy out their stock & when the war shall have been won, then to sink both the thing to be sold and the price of it in cutting our country's throat. I do not speak of constitution at all, but of a decision it must be made quickly. Now in my opinion of administration can be obtained cheaply and in abundance. When numbers small or large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the tried people will not be so reluctant to go.

"Before leaving the capital, consider and discuss it among yourselves. You are patriotic and at heart, and so must I say you consider this proposition, and in the first instance it is the consideration of your States and people. As you would undoubtedly render government for the best world in the world, I forward you this you do in no wise call this. Our common country is in great peril, especially the farthest view of national unity is being so greatly reduced. Once reduced, the loss of our mind is owed to the world, the loved history and cherished memories are obliterated, and the long memory fully torn and weakened forever by the deed. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to secure that knowledge and skill that is needed, and to find your way more quickly forward.

July the 22 the following order was given.

First last all: That all military commanders within the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, in an orderly manner, shall not use any property, real or personal, which may be necessary or convenient for their several commands, for service, or for other military purposes; and that while property may be employed for proper military objects, none shall be employed in subordination of police.

Second: That military and naval commanders shall employ no laborers within and from said States, so long as there are persons in said States who are to be employed for military or naval purposes, during their reasonable wages for their labor.

Third: That as to both property and persons of persons desired, accounts shall be kept sufficiently accurate and in detail to show quantities and amounts, and from time to time to be made and such persons shall have such, as a basis upon which compensation may be made to proper cases; and the several departments of this government shall attend to and perform their respective parts to and the execution of these orders.

By order of the President:

Wm. H. Hunt, Secretary of War.

The twenty-fifth of July the President, in a proclamation, announced to all persons that they were participating favourably or aiding the rebellion, and to refuse to do so under penalty of order in the fact to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, and to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes, "dated July, 17, 1863

Chapter XIV

The Peninsular Campaign

The campaign was ordered in the early part of the year of 1862
because of the emergency of all (above) that the army was not
as well organized as on previous occasions, and which would
necessitate a reformed military system, should be
laid in motion. Following is this order, the following order
issued:

January 27, 1862--President's General Order No. 1

Executive Mansion, Washington, January 27, 1862.

Ordered, That the 1st day of February, 1862, be the
day for a general movement of all the land and naval forces
of the United States against the insurgent forces. They
especially the army of the Potomac; the army of Northern Virginia; the
army of the Potomac; the army of Northern Virginia; the
army near Manassasville, Kentucky; the army and flotilla
at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be
ready to move on that day.

That all other forces, both land and naval with their
respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time,
and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

That the heads of departments, and especially the
secretaries of War and of the Navy, with all their sub-
ordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be
held to their strict and full responsibilities for
prompt execution of this order.

Approved: Lincoln.

The President recommends all congressional and
senatorial-in-chief of the House of Representatives, temporarily
delegated to others, respectively, to maintain the
security, yielded to popular opinion, and that the
the movement should be followed by the military
responsible in military operations.

In the last few months there followed a vicious battle at Mill Spring, Kentucky; the capture of Fort Henry and Donelson, that enabled the rebels to evacuate Nashville, leaving the entire State of Kentucky free from Federal military forces; the recently discussed, but decidedly victorious, battle of New River in Tennessee; the capture of a great part of Missouri; the victory secured from the battle of Belmont; and the occupation of New Orleans, which dominated the mouth of the Mississippi.

That of the South--General Beauregard was a victor at a place on the coast of North Carolina and the entire rebellion, as the position of Fort Mifflin and Fort Mifflin on a former occasion on the coast of North Carolina. These were the successes of the army of the Potomac, based upon the active strategy and tactical action, which, however, great as it is, it is not known, or believed, that the military situation was in any way changed by the capture of the forts. The military situation was in any way changed by the capture of the forts. The military situation was in any way changed by the capture of the forts.

It is the object of this report to state the results of the general investigation of the military situation of the Potomac, as of January 15, 1862, and the results of the investigation of the military situation of the Potomac, as of January 15, 1862, and the results of the investigation of the military situation of the Potomac, as of January 15, 1862.

January 11, 1862--President's Special War Order No. 1

Executive Mansion, Washington, January 11, 1862.

Ordered, That all the fit and able men of the Army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defense of Washington, be formed into an expedition for the immediate object of capturing and occupying a point upon the railroad connecting the Potomac with the James River, all details to be in the discretion of the commander-in-chief, and the expedition to move before or on the 1st day of February next.

Abraham Lincoln

General McCallen having objections to this plan
highly recommended that he should be directed by one of
the lower Hapgood with Orders as a basis; to him the
President directed the following letter:

Executive Mansion, Washington,
February 5, 1864

Major-General McCallen.

My Dear Sir: You and I have different plans
for a movement of the Army of the Potomac--yours is to move
the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Falmouth, and thence
land to the left of the railroad at the West River; mine
to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of
Warrenton.

If you will give me satisfactory answers to the following
questions, I shall gladly yield up mine to yours.

First. Does not your plan involve a greatly larger
expenditure of time and money than mine?

Second. Would it be a victory more certain by your plan
than mine?

Third. Would it be a victory more valuable by your plan
than mine?

Fourth. In fact, would it not be less valuable in this,
that it would break up great lines of the enemy's communi-
cations, while mine would?

Fifth. In view of all this, would not a retreat be more
difficult by your plan than mine?

Yours truly,

Abraham Lincoln.

These simple and practical questions never received
a direct answer. The former seemed to be converted into
operative words so that a movement in whatever direction
taken, the President issued a positive order to the com-
manding general that he should proceed to carry the plan, making
the divisions and their local operations to make.

issued a decisive order to the commanding general that he should proceed to occupy the town, leaving the divisions and their needs according to rank.

The same day, the President, who in spite of his having consented to the law of pardoning a Richmond, and before going protected himself, issued a general order making it incumbent to obtain this result.

Finally, after a long delay, various circumstances, and heated discussion, that were known to destroy the influence of a unit, rebellion, started the military movement that has passed into history, by the name of the Civil War.

The march was commenced about the middle of March 1862, with a poorly trained army, whose numbers were estimated at from 50,000 to 100,000 men, with the object of occupying Richmond. The route chosen was that of the peninsula that is formed by the convergence of the York River and James River, at its outlet to the Chesapeake Bay, the route chosen in this the final act of the war of the rebellion had been chosen. The first object was to overcome the command of the Fort Mifflin at Yorktown, defended by less than 10,000 men, and it was the first of the war.

After a long delay, because of the rain, the army had the fort was captured at the end of twenty-five days from the beginning of the siege. But thearrison moved to the Richmond, and the Federal forces: his result was the important, the decisive, battle of Williamsburg and Yorktown. There the Federal army of 10,000 men defeated the very vicinity of the Confederate capital, which

which the battle of Bull Run is now famous. There the rebels were driven back to the banks of the river in their attempt to dislodge the position of their fortified positions.

Nevertheless, the position of the army of the Union was more critical than it was; as it stood, it was by the river, exposed to the attack of the enemy. The rebels, meanwhile, their positions were critical because their position was from all accounts. Under the vigorous action of the army moved in 1862, the 1st of August Robert E. Lee, then started, in 1862, the general attack by the right flank of the Federal army which it found the south of the river. There followed the battle of the river and other the bloody battle known as the Seven Days, in which the federals fought in retreat, inflicting terrible losses to the enemy, until reaching a point still known as Harrison's Landing, on the banks of the James, they were to find a new base of operations and supplies.

The President, however, believed it necessary, that in the critical state of affairs, to have the army move to the defense of the Capital. He ordered by all of Lee's forces. As soon as they met the army of Virginia under the command of the inefficient General Pope, a critical battle occurred almost on the same field of the first battle of Bull Run. The result of this battle was very similar to the first, that the army of the Union was driven back, although this time the rebels were the victors.

In consequence of the disaster the President ordered

know to recall General Lee's flight from the pursuit of the army, under the direction of whom the battles of South Mountain and Antietam were fought. These battles brought about the retreat of Lee to the other side of Potomac and the evacuation of the State of Maryland, which had been invaded by the victorious armies almost without opposition.

The last battle is one of the last in the series of battles which have been fought in this country; though the decisive was obtained by the first other than the Revolutionary War of the people of the North and South, which had been very seriously undermined by a series of other battles.

It will fall to the lot of history to explain the responsibility that falls in these events on each of the persons that figured in them. It is probable that Mr. Lincoln lacking military skill and with limited in political experience, or involved in a situation so unconventional, should not be exempt from all criticism.

The removal of the Miller from the command of the
army under these circumstances has been one of his most dis-
approved acts.

in a consequence of the illness that occurred in
Frederickburg attributed to the pollution of ground
surface, who had, with assistance, succeeded in draining
ground, the action of the government was largely
limited of having aimed to assist in the same way
to his own personal and public health.

Chapter XV

The Liberty of Millions

An article published in the New York Tribune in August 1862, in the form of a letter to the President by the editor of that periodical, criticizing severely the policy of Mr. Lincoln with respect to the question of slavery, he answered with the following letter:

Executive Mansion, Washington
August 22, 1862

Hon. Horace Greeley.

Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the New York "Tribune." If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft--expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours,
A. Lincoln

in this world, and, in fact, the only one which is
rejoicing, when the following words are uttered which is
the most important state document that has ever come from the
pen of an American President:

September 22, 1862.--Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

I, Abraham Lincoln President of the United States of America,
and commander-in-chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby
proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will
be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the
constitutional relation between the United States and each of the
States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is
or may be suspended or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to
again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering
pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave
States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion
against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily
adopted, or hereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual
abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that
the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent
upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained
consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord
one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as
slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people
whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall
be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government
of the United States, including the military and naval authority
thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons,
and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them,
in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid,
by proclamation designate the States and parts of States, if any,
in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion
against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the
people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in
the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at
elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State
shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong counter-
vailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State,
and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the
United States.

That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled
"An act to make an additional article of war," approved March 12,
1862, and which act is in the words and figure following:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war, for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:

ARTICLE---. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due; and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

SEC. 9. And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them, and coming under the control of the Government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found on (or) being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

SEC. 10. And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretense whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto through-

out the rebellion shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand (L. S.) eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln.

By the President: William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

This narrower of liberty, for freedom of men, occurred those who had not let me go forth, or discrediting the administration part; but by this document I declined to exercise the most important influence in the history of the, even in future generations, to be remembered as particular revelation will not be made here. Mr. Carpenter, the artist commissioned to paint the picture that should perpetuate by means of art the scene in which the act of Emancipation was prepared, has brought to light a paragraph on the history of the act itself and from that we take the following details:

February 6, 1864.--Account of the Emancipation Proclamation Related Verbally by the President to the Artist F. B. Carpenter.

"It had got to be," said Mr. Lincoln, "December, 1862. Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy; and without consultation with, or the knowledge of, the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject. This was the last of July or the first part of the month of August, 1862. (The exact date was July 22, 1862.).....All were present excepting Mr. Blair, the Postmaster-General, who was absent at the opening of the discussion, but came in subsequently. I said to the Cabinet that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before them, suggestions as to which would be in order after they had heard it read. Mr. Lovejoy

was in error when he informed you that it elicited no comment excepting on the part of Secretary Seward. Various suggestions were offered. Secretary Chase wished the language stronger in reference to the arming of the blacks.

"Mr. Blair, after he came in, deprecated the policy on the ground that it would cost the Administration the fall elections. Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance, 'Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help: the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.' His idea," said the President, "was that it would be considered our last shriek on the retreat. (This was his precise expression.) 'Now,' continued Mr. Seward, 'while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war.'" Mr. Lincoln continued: "The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory.

"From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously watching the progress of events. Well, the next news we had was of Pope's disaster at Bull Run. Things looked darker than ever. Finally came the week of the battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer. The news came, I think, on Wednesday, that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the Soldier's Home (three miles out of Washington). Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary proclamation; came up on Saturday; called the Cabinet together to hear it, and it was published on the following Monday."

Later congratulating the painter for having suggested the idea of painting a picture commemorating the act of Emancipation, Mr. Lincoln, with animation that the artist had never seen said: "Yes, because of the direction that events have taken, this is the central act of my administration, and the great event of the nineteenth century."

Mr. Chase, according to Carpenter, asserts having heard an utter, on announcing the purpose of the calling together of the Cabinet, a phrase, that he repeated afterwards at his

consideration.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln.

By the President: William A. Rorer, Secretary of State.

Later it would be a good opportunity to be made - that issued this order, if we did not feel ourselves forced to say, that it was extremely desirable to have. The truth, nevertheless, compels us to say that it obtained the object that it purposed, stopping immediately, by its appearance, in a great measure, the evils that it purposed to remedy.

In November a general order was given to the army, commanding that the quality of the soldiers be observed in the camps and that all that was not absolutely necessary. It also recalled the first general order of prohibition after the declaration of Independence, in which he said, "the general laws and customs that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as a citizen and soldier, defending the Government and the rights of his country."

January 1, 1863, a proclamation was issued that served as a complement to the war of September, 1862, declaring that a hundred days after the next first national census, the slave in the United States and those of those who could be

request; "I had made a solemn vow before God that if General Lee was driven out of Pennsylvania, I would promulgate the result declaring freedom to all slaves."

As at that time great efforts were being made, and not without result, to hinder the action of the government in order that it obtain necessary reinforcements for the army, and men with the worst of evil intentions were closely watching the opportunity for profiting by the prejudice that existed among the people of the north against the negroes, two days afterwards, the following proclamation appeared, so that no one would be ignorant of the consequences if they insisted on carrying out their traitorous designs:

September 22, 1862--Proclamation Relating to the Draft of Thomas C. Case.

By the President of the United States of America:
A Proclamation.

Whereas it has become necessary to call into service not only volunteers, but also portions of the militia of the States by draft, in order to suppress the insurrection existing in the United States, and disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary operations of law from obstructing this measure, and from giving aid and comfort in various ways to the insurrection:

Now, therefore, be it enacted--

First. That during the existing insurrection, and as a necessary measure for suppressing the same, all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice offering aid and comfort to rebels against the authority of the United States shall be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by courts martial or military commissions.

Second. That the right of habeas corpus is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion shall be, imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military station or other place of confinement, by any military authority, or by the sentence of any court martial or military

free.

It also declared that those freed, fit for military service in the United States should Garrison forts, positions and stations, and other places, and men vessels of all sorts in government service. He ended the document with these solemn words: "And upon this act sincerely believed, to be *An* act of justice warranted by the constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgement of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

CHAPTER XVI

More Complications

Gloomy days for the friends of liberty were those of the year 1862. Before autumn of that year the elections were indication how the people felt toward the acts of the administration. Then a change took place. The three principal states, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, by means of misrepresentation and public demonstrations, that are not recorded here, had been influenced to furnish a majority against the Government.

It was not the least of the many inconsistencies in the political annals of the time, that the leading state brought upon itself, electing for Governor a person of peace under the political program that contained as one of its principles "The carrying on of the war with more force."

The president was blamed for the failure of the peninsular campaign. It was maintained that the original aim of the war had been given up. Now, it was not endeavoring to save the Union but to free the slaves, or to use the more elegant phraseology of the day, it was "a nigger war." For the ignorant and unthinking such assertions went for truth. The number had been greatly increased of those who not recognizing any issue in the war were anxious for its prolongation. The issue of issuing a new draft, or as those opposed called it "conscription", which the next Congress sanctioned, was being looked upon with indifference even by the most enthusiastic.

The newspapers and the public speakers had the audacity even to ask for peace at any price; and it was still claimed

The civil war of the United States had excited animosities and created fears, that had produced a profound agitation throughout the world. The Government, without standing, had withdrawn from taking part in any controversy, among foreign states, or between parties or factions of foreign states. It had not spread propaganda nor economic revolutions. It left to each nation the exclusive conduct and management of its own affairs.

A great part of the measure was reduced, for, with regard to influencing Congress to pass a law, which Lincoln himself for all that, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves in the States or parts of the States loyal to the Government, offered a just compensation to the owners. In order to know how easily the nation could discharge the enormous debt contracted for this purpose, he put into the following calculation of the increase of population in the several decennial periods and the proportion in which it had been increased.

1790.....	3,929,827				
1800.....	5,305,937	35.02	per cent ratio of increase		
1810.....	7,229,814	36.45	" " " "		
1820.....	9,638,121	33.13	" " " "		
1830.....	12,866,020	33.49	" " " "		
1840.....	17,069,453	32.67	" " " "		
1850.....	23,191,876	35.87	" " " "		
1860.....	31,443,790	35.58	" " " "		

This shows an average decennial increase of 34.40 per cent in population through the seventy years from our first to our last census yet taken. It is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of these seven periods is either two per cent below or two per cent above the average, thus showing how inflexible, and consequently how reliable, the law of increase in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, gives the following results:

1870.....	42,334,1
1880.....	56,967,216
1890.....	76,577, 873
1900.....	107,208,415
1910.....	136,918,536
1920.....	186,984,335
1930.....	251,630,914

These figures show that our country may be as populous as Europe now is at this point between 1890 and 1970--say about 1925--

our territory, at 7 1/2 percent to the United States Government of
 currency to amount to \$17,185,300.

The treasury receipts had been increased by loans
 amounting to \$200,000,000; and the expenses were \$200,
 000,000.

Lincoln ended with this spontaneous call of humanity:

Fellow-citizens we must have liberty. We of this
 country and this administration will be remembered in spite
 of our lives. We demand significance or insignificance can
 come out of nothing of us. The story will tell through which we
 pass will live in fact, in honor or dishonor, to the latest
 generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not
 forget that we say this. We have now to save the Union. The
 world knows we do know how to save it. We--even we here--hold
 the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom
 to the slave, we secure freedom to the free--just honorable
 alike in what we give and what we receive. We shall surely save
 of course, for the last, best hope of earth. Other means have
 failed; this could not fail. The way is plain, powerful, gen-
 erous just--my friend, if followed, the world will forever
 applaud, and God will forever bless.)

Chapter XVII

The Reaction

It was decreed by Divine Providence that the year 1863 should put an end to the almost uninterrupted series of reverses that the army of the United States had experienced for sometime previously.

In fact, Hooker, who replaced Burnside in command of the army of the Potomac, had been completely defeated at Chancellorsville; but that was more than compensated for by the famous victory that the same army had won at Gettysburg, under the command of Meade. Grant, by the capture of Vicksburg, the surrender of Fort Hudson as its inevitable result, had opened the Mississippi to the Gulf, and had divided the illegitimate confederation into two parts. Eastern Tennessee was guaranteed by the victories of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge; and the bloody repulse that the attempt of Longstreet suffered by the regaining of Knoxville, left the way open for an offensive attack in the heart of Georgia.

The principal movement having been put through, immediately, the thoughts of the people were turned toward social problems. Vallandigham, a representative to Congress, who because of his traitorous intrigues had been tried and convicted by a military commission appointed by General Burnside, and condemned to be transported to the rebel country; but who had been allowed to return to Canada where he was a supporter of the democratic party, which had elected him as its candidate for Governor of Ohio, was defeated in the elections by a majority of a 100,000 votes. Pennsylvania likewise, returned from its deviation, and in all of the loyal States with the exception of New Jersey, great majorities announced themselves for the administration. Public sentiment, decided in favor

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1861.

MR. SEAN'S CHURCH AND OFFICE.

Gentlemen: Your letter of May 10, enclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held at Albany, New York, on the 10th of the same month, was received several days ago.

The resolutions, as I understood them, are resolvable into two propositions--first, the prosecution of a war to sustain the cause of the Union, to secure peace through victory, and to support the administration in every constitutional and lawful manner to suppress the rebellion; and, secondly, a declaration of censure upon the administration for supposed unconstitutional action, such as the making of military arrests. And from the two propositions a third is deduced, which is that the gentlemen composing the meeting are resolved on doing their part to maintain our common government and country, despite the folly or wickedness, as they may conceive, of any administration. This position is eminently patriotic, and as such I thank the meeting, and congratulate the nation for it. My own war aim is the same; so that the meeting and myself have a common object, and can have no difference, except in the choice of means or measures for affecting that object.

And here I ought to close this paper, and would close it, if there were no apprehension that were intrusive consequences than any merely personal to myself might follow the censures a theoretically cast upon me for doing what, in my view of case, I could not forbear. The resolutions resolve to support me in every constitutional and lawful manner to suppress the rebellion; and I have not knowingly employed, nor shall knowingly employ, any other. But the meeting, by their resolutions, assert and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible, are unconstitutional. I think they are not. The resolutions quote from the Constitution the definition of treason, and also the limitations safeguards and guarantees therein provided for the citizen on trial for treason, and on his being held as answer for capital or otherwise infamous crimes, and in criminal prosecutions his right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. They proceed to resolve "that those safeguards of the rights of the citizen against the pretensions of arbitrary power were intended were especially for his protection in times of civil commotion." And, apparently to demonstrate the proposition, the resolutions proceed: "They were secured substantially to the English people after years of protracted civil war, and were adopted into our Constitution at the close of the revolution." Could not the demonstration have been better if it could have been truly said that these safeguards had been adopted and applied during the civil wars and during our revolution, instead of after the one and at the close of the other? I, too am devotedly for them after civil war, and before civil war, and at all times, "except when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require" their suspension. The resolutions proceed to tell us that these safeguards "have stood the test

of twenty-six years of trial under our republican system, under circumstances which show that while they constitute the foundation of all free government, they are the elements of the enduring stability of the Republic." So we know that they have stood the test as to the beginning of the present rebellion, if we accept a certain occurrence at New Orleans hereafter to be mentioned; nor does any one question that they will stand the test much longer after the rebellion closes. But those provisions of the Constitution have no application to the case we have in hand, because the arrests complained of were not made for treason--that is, not for the treason defined in the Constitution, nor upon the conviction of which the punishment is death--nor yet were they made to hold persons to answer for any criminal or otherwise infamous crime; nor were the proceedings following, in any constitutional or legal sense, "criminal prosecutions." The arrests were made on totally different grounds, and the proceedings following occurred with the grounds of the arrests. Let us consider the real case with which we are dealing, and apply to it the parts of the Constitution plainly made for such cases.

Prior to my installation here it had been indicated that my duty was to have a lawful right to come from the national Union, and that it would be consistent to exercise the right whenever the devotees of the doctrine should fail to elect a president to their own liking. I was elected contrary to their liking; and, accordingly, so far as it was legally possible, they had taken every step out of the Union, had seized many of the United States forts, and had fired upon the United States flag, all before I was inaugurated, and, of course, before I had done any official act whatever. The rebellion thus began even ran into the present civil war; and, in fact in respect, it began on very unusual terms between the parties. The insurgents had been preparing for it more than thirty years, while the government had taken no steps to resist them. The former had carefully considered all the means which could be turned to their account. It undoubtedly was a well-considered reliance with them that in their own unrestricted effort to destroy Union, Constitution and law, all together, the government would, in great degree, be restrained by the same Constitution and law from arresting their progress. Their sympathizers pervaded all departments of the government and nearly all committees of the people. From this material, under cover of "liberty of speech," "liberty of the press," and "freedom of religion," they hoped to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, emissaries, and others and destroyers of their country in a thousand ways. They knew that in times such as they were inaugurating, by the Constitution itself the "habeas corpus" might be suspended; and they also knew that their friends who would raise a question as to the use to suspend it; meanwhile their spies and others might run in at large to help on their cause. Or if, as has happened, the Executive should suspend the writ without reasons, waste of time, instances of arresting innocent persons might occur, as are always likely to occur in such cases; and then a clamor would be raised in regard to this, which at least would of some service to the insurgent cause. It needed no very keen perception to discover this part of the enemy's program, as soon as by open hostility their machinery was fairly put in motion. Yet, thoroughly misled with a reverence for the guaranteed rights of individuals, I was slow to adopt the strong measures which by degrees I have

been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the Constitution, and as indispensable to the public safety. Nothing is better known to history than that courts of justice are utterly incompetent to such cases. Civil courts are organized chiefly for trials of individuals, or, at most, a few individuals acting in concert--and this in quiet times, and on charges of crimes well defined in the law. Even in times of peace bands of horse-thieves and robbers frequently grow too numerous and powerful for the ordinary courts of justice. But what comparison, in numbers, have such bands ever borne to the insurgent sympathizers even in many of the loyal States? Again, a jury too frequently has at least one member more ready to hang the peasant than to hang the traitor. And yet again, he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, so runs the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

Ours is a case of rebellion--so called by the resolutions before me--in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," is the provision which specially applies to our present case. This provision plainly attests the understanding of those who made the understanding of those who made the Constitution that ordinary courts of justice are inadequate to "cases of rebellion"--attests their purpose that, in such cases, men may be held in custody whom the courts, acting on ordinary rules, would discharge. Habeas corpus does not discharge men who are proved to be guilty of defined crimes; and its suspension is allowed by the Constitution on purpose that men may be arrested and held who cannot be proved to be guilty of defined crime, "when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it."

This is precisely our present case--a case of rebellion wherein the public safety does require the suspension. Indeed, arrests by process of courts and arrests in cases of rebellion do not proceed altogether upon the same basis. The former is directed at the small percentage of ordinary and continuous perpetration of crime, while the latter is directed at sudden and extensive uprisings against the government, which, at most, will succeed or fail in no great length of time. In the latter case arrests are made not so much for what has been done, as for what probably would be done. The latter is more for the preventive and less for the vindictive than the former. In such cases the purposes of men are much more easily understood than in cases of ordinary crime. The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discussed, cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more if he talks seditiously--talks for his country with "buts," and "ifs" and "ands." Of how little value the

constitutional provision I have quoted will be rendered if arrests shall never be made until defined crimes shall have been committed, may be illustrated by a few notable examples: General John C. Breckinridge, General Robert E. Lee, General Joseph E. Johnston, General John B. Magruder, General William B. Preston, General Simon B. Buckner, and Commodore Franklin Buchanan, now occupying the very highest places in the rebel war service, were all within the power of the government since the rebellion began, and were nearly as well known to be traitors then as now. Unquestionably if we had seized and held them, the insurgent cause would be much weaker. But no one of them had then committed any crime defined in the law. Every one of them, if arrested, would have been discharged on habeas corpus were the writ allowed to operate. In view of these and similar cases, I think the time not unlikely to come when I shall be blamed for having made too few arrests rather than too many.

By the third resolution the meeting indicate their opinion that military arrests may be constitutional in localities where rebellion actually exists, but that such arrests are unconstitutional in localities where rebellion or insurrection does not actually exist. They insist that such arrests shall not be made "outside of the lines of necessary military occupation and the scenes of insurrection." Inasmuch, however, as the Constitution itself makes no such distinction, I am unable to believe that there is any such constitutional distinction. I concede that the class of arrests complained of can be constitutional only when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require them; and I insist that in such cases they are constitutional wherever the public safety does require them, as well in places to which they may prevent the rebellion extending, as in those where it may be already prevailing; as well where they may restrain mischievous interference with the raising and supplying of armies to suppress the rebellion, as where the rebellion may actually be; as well where they may restrain the enticing men out of the army, as where they would prevent mutiny in the army; equally constitutional at all places where they will conduce to the public safety, as against the dangers of rebellion or invasion. Take the particular case mentioned by the meeting. It is asserted in substance, that Mr. Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried "for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting in criticism of the course of the administration, and in condemnation of the military orders of the general." Now, if there be no mistake about this, if this assertion is the truth and the whole truth, if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong. But the arrest, as I understand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avowed his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was carrying upon the military, this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to

lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

I understand the meeting whose resolutions I am considering to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force--by armies. Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. This case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction, this punishment. Must I shoot a single-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings till he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that, in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them: in other words, that the Constitution is not in its application in all respects the same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction, and I can no more be persuaded that the government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will be means of military arrests during the rebellion lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and habeas corpus throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for opium during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

In giving the resolutions that earnest consideration which you request of me, I cannot overlook the fact that the meeting speak as "Democrats." Nor can I, with full respect for their known intelligence, and the fairly presumed deliberation with which they prepared their resolutions, be permitted to suppose that this occurred by accident, or in any way other than that they preferred to designate themselves "Democrats" rather than "American citizens." In this time of national peril I would have preferred to meet you upon a level one step higher than any party platform, because I am sure that from such more elevated position we could do better battle for the country as all love than we possibly can from those lower ones where, from the force of habit, the prejudices of the past, and selfish hopes of the future, we are sure to spend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with and wounding those at each

other. But since you have decided on this, I will yet be thankful for the country's sake that not all leaders have done so. We on whose discretionary judgment Mr. Vallandigham was arrested and tried is a Democrat, having no old party affinity with me, and the judge who rejected the constitutional view expressed in these resolutions, by refusing to discharge Mr. Vallandigham on Habeas Corpus, is a Democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial mantle at the hands of President Jackson. And still more, of all these Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battle-field, I have learned that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it. I cannot assert that there are none such. And the name of President Jackson recalls an instance of pertinent history. After the battle of New Orleans, and while the fact that the treaty of peace had been concluded was well known in the city, but before official knowledge of it had arrived, General Jackson still maintained martial or military law. Now that it could be said the war was over, the clamor against martial law, which had existed from the first, grew more furious. Among other things, a Mr. Louaillier published a denunciatory newspaper article. General Jackson arrested him. A lawyer by the name of Morel procured the United States Judge Hall to order a writ of habeas corpus to release Mr. Louaillier. General Jackson arrested both the lawyer and the judge. A Mr. Hollander ventured to say of some part of the matter that "it was a dirty trick." General Jackson arrested him. When the officer undertook to serve the writ of habeas corpus, General Jackson took it from him, and sent him away with a copy. Holding the judge in custody a few days, the general sent him beyond the limits of his encampment, and set him at liberty with an order to remain till the ratification of peace should be regularly announced, or until the British should have left the southern coast. A day or two more elapsed, the ratification of the treaty of peace was regularly announced, and the judge and others were fully liberated. A few days more, and the judge called General Jackson into court and fined him \$1000 for having arrested him and the others named. The general paid the fine, and then the matter rested for nearly thirty years, when Congress refunded principal and interest. The late Senator Douglas, then in the House of Representatives, took a leading part in the debate in which the constitutional question was much discussed. I am not prepared to say whom the journals would show to have voted for the measure.

It may be remarked--first, that we had the same Constitution then as now; secondly, that we then had a case of invasion, and now we have a case of rebellion; and, thirdly, that the permanent right of the people to public discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, the law of evidence, and the habeas corpus, suffered no detriment whatever by that conduct of General Jackson, or its subsequent approval by the American Congress.

And yet, let me say that, in my own discretion, I do not know whether I would have ordered the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. While I cannot shift the responsibility from myself, I hold that, as a general rule, the commander in the field is the better judge of the necessity in any particular case. Of course I must practice a general directory and revisory power in the matter.

One of the resolutions expresses the opinion of the meeting that arbitrary arrests will have the effect to divide and distract those who should be united in suppressing the rebellion, and I am specifically called on to discharge Mr. Vallandigham. I regard this as, at least, a fair appeal to me on the expediency of exercising a constitutional power which I think exists. In response to such appeal I have to say, it gave me pain when I learned that Mr. Vallandigham had been arrested (that is, I was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him), and that it will afford me great pleasure to discharge him as soon as I can by any means believe the public safety will not suffer by it.

I further say that, as the war progresses, it appears to me, opinion and action, which were in great confusion at first, take shape and fall into more regular channels, so that the necessity for strong dealing with them gradually decreases. I have every reason to desire that it should come altogether, and far from the least is my regard for the opinions and wishes of those who, like the meeting at Albany, declare their purpose to sustain the government in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion. Still, I must continue to do so much as may seem to be required by the public safety.

A. Lincoln.

To insert here the reply to a Democratic committee from Ohio, where Vallandigham, returned from exile by the tacit consent of the Government, was nominated as candidate for governor by their partisans will be superfluous. The committee pretended to see an insult to the State of Ohio in the proceedings against the agitator whom they proclaimed a "martyr for the rights of the people." With the patient civility that distinguishes his acts, Mr. Lincoln repeated and confirmed his arguments in regard to the constitutional powers of the Executive in times of rebellion, and the principles that guided his acts and brought the Republic to safe port have, finally, been adopted by public opinion, and have been better confirmed, and established in the practice of the Government. They crushed the great insurrection, and left firmly fixed in deeds, conscience, and in administrative tradition,

that the Constitution did not tie its hands in order to defend the Constitution, neither was individual liberty destined to destroy public liberty.

achievement of the American people, and the only way to achieve it is by the united action of all the people of this country. We are met here today to dedicate a portion of this field as a final resting-place for those who have given their lives for the nation. It is a fitting and proper thing that we should do this.

November 19, 1863. -- Address at the dedication of the
Gettysburg National Cemetery.

November 19, 1863. -- Address at the dedication of the
Gettysburg National Cemetery.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on
this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to
the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that
nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long
endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have
come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place
for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live.
It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate--we cannot con-
secrate--we cannot hallow--this ground. The brave men, living and
dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor
power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember
what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It
is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished
work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced.
It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining
before us--that from these honored dead we take increased commit-
ment to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of
devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not

and the President is authorized to grant pardons and to commute a rebellion part of punishment to the State.

And it is the duty of the President to consider the obligation which would be considered sufficient for the purpose of fulfilling the obligation.

By an act approved July 19, 1862, Congress authorized the Government to grant pardon and amnesty to the persons who had taken part in the rebellion, with exceptions in special cases.

Acting under the authority of this law, Mr. Lincoln issued the following proclamation. It is evidence of the fact that Mr. Lincoln believed himself obligated to do so for the good and peace of the United States, and the interests of the people, to advise the public of the same, to the end that the public might be made aware of the same.

A Proclamation

Whereas, in and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that the President "shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment"; and

Whereas a rebellion now exists whereby the loyal State governments of several States have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed, and are now committing, treason against the United States; and

Whereas, with reference to said rebellion and treason, laws have been enacted by Congress, declaring forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves, all in pursuance and conditions therein stated, and also declaring that the President was thereby authorized at any time thereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion, in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and on such terms and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare; and

Whereas, the congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with the well-established national maxim of the pardoning power; and

Whereas, with reference to said rebellion, the President of the United States has issued several proclamations, with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves; and

Whereas it is now desired by many persons hereafter engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal state governments within and for their respective States; therefore

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thereafter so keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be regulated for content and reservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

I, _____, do solemnly swear, in presence of almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, support by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, support by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or held void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God.

The persons excepted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are, or shall have been, civil or military officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are or shall have been military or naval officers of said so-called Confederate Government above the rank of colonel in the army or of lieutenant in the navy; all who left posts in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who remained associations in the army or navy of the United States and afterwards aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity.

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one tenth in number of the voters cast in such State at the presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken oath after it and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall reassemble in a peaceable manner which shall be republican, and in no wise interfering with each other, each shall be

recognized as the true government of the State, and that it shall receive therefrom the benefit of the constitutional provision which declares that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence."

And I do further recite, declare, and acknowledge, that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent as a temporary arrangement with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the national executive.

And it is suggested as not improper that, in constructing a loyal State government in any State, the name of the State, the boundary, the subdivisions, the constitution, and the general code of laws, before the rebellion, be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions hereinbefore stated, and such others, if any, not contravening the conditions, and which may be deemed expedient by those forming the new State government.

To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this proclamation, so far as it relates to State governments, has no reference to State wherein loyal State governments have all the while been existing.

And, for the same reason, it may be proper to further say, that whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seat, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective States, and not to any extent with the executive. And further still, that this proclamation is issued to prevent the people of the United States from the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be reestablished within said States, or in any of them; and while the work presented to the best the executive can suggest, with his several limitations, it must not be understood that no other possible mode could be recommended.

Given under my hand at the city of Washington, the eighth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the thirty-ninth.

Abraham Lincoln.

By the President: William F. Sewell, Secretary of State.

CHAPTER III

The Rights of Naturalized and Natural Citizens

For this reason, however, to be considered in this chapter, let us consider those rights that refer more directly to the ideas of Mr. Lincoln or to the political situation of the country, and those things which are connected with other problems that arose during the civil war or the post-war period.

"All citizens of the United States are equal before the law; another year of health, and of sufficiently good health, has passed-----"

"The efforts of illegal citizens of the United States to involve us in foreign war, to aid an insurrectionary movement, have been unavailing."

Incidents occurring in the progress of our civil war have formed upon my mind on the uncertain state of international questions touching the rights of foreigners in this country and of United States citizens abroad. In regard to our government, these rights are of great practical importance. In no instance, however, is it expressly stipulated that in the event of civil war, a foreigner residing in this country within the limit of the laws of the land, is to be excluded from the rule which governs him as a citizen. In some cases the government of his country cannot enjoy any privilege or immunity distinct from that of a citizen. I need not say, however, that such claims have been put forward, and in some instances in behalf of foreigners who have lived in the United States the greater part of their lives.

There is reason to believe that many persons born in foreign countries, who have declared their intention to become citizens, or who have been really naturalized, have assisted the military and political forces by helping the fleet, and thereby committed some of the gravest crimes of war. It has been found difficult or impossible to obtain this proof, from the lack of reliable or other sources of information.

The Executive Council, in 1862, passed an act, in-

which it was provided that the President of the United States

batallions shared in equal degree the glory of the expedition. The
 e of Montevideo, for ten years--it was called San Fro.--was main-
 ed by troops from the border, among whom were negro batallions, who
 the battle of Caseros, that overturned the tyranny of Rosas, covered
 themselves with glory. The young Taylor entered the service as the com-
 mander of negro troops in order to make good his assertions, and was
 successful. In a short while he was promoted from lieutenant to
 lieutenant Colonel, with the command of a regiment of negro troops."
 the previous experience of South America should aid the emancipa-
 tion of negroes, and recommending them for use in border wars.

President Davis, having proclaimed at Richmond that none of the
 condition recognized by laws of war would be accorded to troops of
 color or to their officers, an order of the day was issued, with the
 approval of the President, that contained the following clause: "Inter-
 national law does not recognize distinction as to color; and if an ene-
 my of the United States captures or kills persons who have been taken
 prisoners of war, the most severe reprisal will be practiced, if
 justice should not be given in reclamation."

The United States not being able to retaliate by the same act,
 death must be the punishment for this crime against the laws of war.

"Quarter will not be given to any of the troops of the enemy, if
 the Union, or Confederation should be shown, that they did not give it
 to the army in general, or to any portion of it."

This order was corroborated by a general order of the President
 commander-in-chief of the army.

July 30, 1863.-- Order of Emancipation

EXECUTIVE MANDATE, DATED JULY 30, 1863.

It is the duty of every government to give protection to its
 citizens of whatever shade, color, or condition, and especially to
 those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service. The

law of nations, and the usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized powers, admit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To kill or enslave any captured prisoners of war as public enemies. To kill or enslave any captured persons on account of his color, and for no offense against the law of war, is a crime against humanity and a crime against the civilization of the age.

The government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers, and if the enemy shall kill or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners as war captives.

It is therefore ordered that for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed; and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war.

AMERICAN ITROVIN

CHAPTER XX

Re-election

In 1864 the plan was drawn up for those great military campaigns, which begun immediately, were destined to put an end to the gigantic rebellion, that, according to unfriendly foreigners and those on the interior who were against the Republic, would never be crushed, and before which the United States itself would have to succumb.

March 2, the President approved a law of Congress creating the office of Lieutenant-General in the army, and Ulysses S. Grant was appointed to this office.

Like the President, General Grant had come from the ranks of the common people, and had been raised from the most humble position, with none of the advantages of lineage, family relations, and wealth, that so often serve as substantial stepping stones to men who obtain important positions. Grant was educated at the famous West Point Military School, and as captain, was present at all of the battles, but one, fought during the Mexican Campaign. At the close of the war, he asked for his discharge, and went to work as a clerk in a leather store, in a distant western village, at a salary of forty dollars a month. When the civil war started he volunteered to the governor of Illinois for service and was assigned to an office on the governor's staff, but asked, many times to no avail, for active service in the army.

The victor of Vicksburg and Petersburg owed to political influence a favor that was not granted to unknown merit, hence

1
e was appointed colonel of a regiment of volunteers from Illinois, at the eve of being discharged, and a month later had attracted attention because of his discipline. His regiment was even compared with the best that Illinois had furnished. Promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, because of the battle of Belmont, misunderstood then, as many other battles, since it prevented the reinforcement of the rebels of southern Missouri by the troops from Columbus, he took a strong division by a single blow. Immediately he made an attack at Smithland; and soon afterwards, captured Fort Henry and Fort Donelson with the complete garrison, consisting of an entire rebel army with its artillery and military supplies. He then followed the rebels, who driven out of Kentucky and Tennessee, did not stop until they came to Corinth. Immediately, he fought the battle of Shiloh, a critical moment of the war, where he had Sherman placed second in command--Shiloh, of which he said, at the close of the first day of fighting, when all seemed to be against them; "It is hard to get the best of them today, but tomorrow we will fight." Replaced by Buell, he remained patiently at the siege of Corinth, as prolonged as it was useless, until he was transferred to Vicksburg, where, at the proper time, he was proclaimed victor of another conquered army, leaving open for navigation the Father of Waters. Immediately, he went to Chattanooga, and ordered Thomas to take a firm stand and not to surrender it, unless forced to by hunger; and as he succeeded in holding the important position, eastern Tennessee was saved from the rebels.

These were the most prominent features of Grant's military career during the rebellion, and until he was placed in supreme command of all the armies, which were destined to put it down.

The president, on handing Grant his commission in Washington, where military affairs had brought him, spoke to him in these words:

GENERAL GRANT:

The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to do, in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you lieutenant-general in the Army of the United States.

With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need add, that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence.

Sherman having been left in command in the Southwest, with orders to take Atlanta, the vital point in Georgia, commenced that great series of movements on the flank, that for a while, it was said, caused much pleasure to the rebels, whose leader, General Johnson, on every occasion had, according to him, Sherman at the exact point where he wanted him. Meanwhile, Grant--silent, stern, determined, without "speeches" or pompous reviews--continued the difficult task at hand, the annihilation or the capture of Lee's army, and which was the mainstay of the military resources of the rebels, and was stationed at Richmond, April 30 the president addressed the following letter to the new commander:

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to

know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to excite your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN"

To this the General, from his headquarters at Culpepper Court House, Virginia, answered as follows on May the first [1864]:

"To the President: Your kind letter has been received. I acknowledge with pride your expression of confidence in my future military administration and that the satisfaction for the post. I will put forth every effort in order that you and the country may not remain disturbed. From my first entrance into the service of the country as volunteer to the present, I have never had cause for complaint, either against the administration, or the Secretary of War, since no obstacles have been put in the way of my plan, or against the vigorous execution of that which I believed to be my duty. Truly, since I have been placed at the head of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have marvelled at the promptness with which whatever I have asked for has been furnished, without scarcely any explanations having been required of me. If the result is not as perfect as I desire and have got, at least I can say, that the fault will not be on your account.

Your obedient servant,

U. S. Grant

Lieutenant-General"

Beginning where he should have, profiting by the experience of others, without wasting time and strength in vain show, quickly shattering, as a preliminary step, the combinations that for a long time had obstructed the action of the army of the Potomac--when the Lieutenant-General was finally ready, he moved across the Rapidan, where he was attacked with great force by Lee with his entire army, before he had drawn up his own ranks for battle. "Any other but him," said Mr. Lincoln, "would have been on the east side of the river after fighting three days." He continued fighting; he moved by the left flank and fought again; and he prepared after six days of an undecisive battle "to fight," as he had written to the government, "on that line, all summer, if necessary." He defeated Lee by strategy at Spottsylvania Court House--secured his position, and held it until the movements prepared at other points, placed within his reach the coveted spoils.

Holding his ground, in spite of the diversion that the rebels attempted by the advance on Washington, and an invasion of Maryland, which had been accomplished, at that time, the rebels favorite summer ground, he knew how to make good use of valuable time, and closed his fists tighter and tighter since the supreme efforts of his determined opponent had induced him to let go the spoils.

It was in vain that Richmond people ridiculed and insulted him. They attempted to prove that he should change his plans: that he was not a strategist, but a lucky

adventurer; extremely bloodthirsty. The northern sympathizers asked that McClellan be called immediately, in order that at least the capital might be saved, if Grant did not succeed in taking Richmond. But Grant held on firmly--with teeth and toe-nails, nothing could move him.

While the campaign was progressing, the President excusing himself from attending a mass-meeting in New York, to which he had been invited, expressed in a letter his full approval of this demonstration which was to be held for the purpose of expressing gratitude to General Grant for his service.

In July the National Republican Convention convened in Baltimore for the purpose of nominating candidates for President.

Popular sentiment was very pronounced in favor of the re-election of Mr. Lincoln. State Legislatures, meetings and State Conventions, and a great majority of the people asked, that the man to whose election constitutionally brought about the rebels had not wished to submit themselves, the one who during three years of herculean endeavor, had shown his patriotism, his ability, and integrity, should have the satisfaction of bringing to a successful finish, in the same office, the work that he had begun as President.

A convention met at Cleveland, also, and received a nomination, inspired by a spirit of criticism toward the acts of the administration, although without specifically denouncing the changes in policy that should be brought about. The Convention ended by nominating General Fremont for President, who accepted in case that the Baltimore convention should nominate

some one else besides Lincoln.

However, influenced by general sentiment, this convention, on the second day, adopted resolutions that expressed its decision to support the Government in its efforts to put down the rebellion by force of arms; its determination not to compromise with the rebels, nor to offer them terms of peace, only on condition that they accept the Constitution and laws of the United States; that since slavery was the one cause and the strength of the rebellion, they were for an amendment of the Constitution that would prohibit its existence within the limits of the United States; that they approved and applauded the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and unswerving fidelity to the constitution and principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln had discharged, under difficulties without precedent, the great duties of the Presidential office. The convention accepted all his acts, especially his proclamation of Emancipation, and his employment of men heretofore held in slavery as Union soldiers.

As the platform of the new presidential campaign the convention resolved: That foreign immigration, which in the past had added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation, the wailing of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered; that the railroad to the Pacific coast should be constructed as soon as possible; that the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate by means of a vigorous and just system of taxation. The resolutions ended by approving

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"the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States."

In the first election returns Abraham Lincoln received the votes of all the loyal State, except Missouri, whose delegates voted for Grant; but in the general election the Missourians cast their votes for Lincoln, and one can scarcely form an idea of the frenzied demonstration that followed the announcement of the candidate. The entire convention was standing, while the band played the national air "Hail Columbia."

There were numerous proposals for candidate for Vice-President but Andrew Johnson was firmly and finally nominated since his courageous conduct and sufferings because of his having opposed the early rebellion in the South, had excited the greatest interest.

A committee was appointed to notify the President of his unanimous nomination; and the following day he was congratulated by another committee from the National Union League, that had been formed for the purpose of supporting the government as the day.

The final phrase in the reply to them has become so famous that we repeat it, as a mitigation to the impatience of patriotic fanatics in analogous circumstances:

"Gentlemen:" said Mr. Lincoln, "I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or the best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river."

This profound logic, so characteristic of Lincoln, spoken in a manner, that only those who had the privilege of conferring with him in moments of semi-abandonment, could appreciate, provoked loud and prolonged laughter.

To those who serenaded him the ninth [June 1864] he addressed these witty words: "Gentlemen, I have said before, and I repeat it to you, that the hardest of all speeches' to reply to is a serenade. I have never known what to say on such occasions.

"I suppose this attention comes to me in connection with the honor the Baltimore Convention, which has just adjourned, has shown me, naturally, to my entire satisfaction. But, that which we desire more than Baltimore Conventions and Presidential elections, is the success of General Grant.

"You must not forget for a moment that it is of primary importance for you to support those brave officers and splendid soldiers who are conducting the campaign, and that on them you must concentrate your strength.

"Now, without detaining you longer, I propose, that, in conclusion you join me in giving three 'hurrahs' for General Grant, and for the officers and soldiers under his command."

The "hurrahs" were given with feeling, the President directing them, who waved his hat with as much fervour as any of the number.

To an Ohio regiment, called in an emergency by the President to serve for a hundred days he spoke thus:

Soldiers! I understand you have just come from Ohio-- come to help us in this, the nation's day of trial, and also of its hopes. I thank you for your promptness in responding to the call for troops. Your services were never needed more than now. I know not where you are going. You may stay here and take the places of those who will be sent to the front, or you may go there yourselves. Whenever you go, I know you will do your best. Again I thank you. Good-by.

separation.

“---The letter of introduction from General to General was
to restoration with slavery.

“---The Republican Candidate, on the contrary, is opposed to
the restoration of the Union, without slavery.”

General Halle and Henry A. Davis, who had directed a
bitter warfare in the north, announced the policy of the
President as it appeared in his reconstruction proclamation,
lent every effort to the support of the military administration.

The loyal members of the administration were bound
closer together each day, and from the masses there was a feeling
that it was now possible to begin.

The divisions of the opposition, meanwhile, became more
pronounced each day. The Democrats, partisans of peace,
approved the Lincoln policy in regard to his military
record and for his having been the first to declare military
law. This did not prevent the opposition showing itself
as a whole, vigorous, united opposition, and making the
country with abundant arms and munitions.

The Richmond press were unanimous in the desire that
Mr. Lincoln should not be re-elected. The rebel press
declared, that the only way to get rid of him was to
free the north and the African continent. The opponents of
the rebellion did not remain behind in this regard and the
official organs announced that with the usual accompaniment of
insults.

The state election of Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania,
which occurred in October, was a very bad one for the

opposition as they were clear the responsibility of the government supporters.

November 8 (1864) arrived; and the general result of the election showed all right.

Abraham Lincoln had a great success, as when he said, "One is a witty rail-splitter, the other a leader of all people, both were from the backwoods, both were reared in the poorest of homes," ^b obtained the votes of all the loyal states except Kentucky, Delaware, and the seceders. The Soldiers voted ^{for} him also.

Of the 4,004,700 votes cast Mr. Lincoln received 2,571,000 which constituted a majority of 111,251 in 1864.

Thus the President, elected by a plurality in 1860, is re-elected in 1864 by a decisive majority.

Among the various measures he made, in reply to the seceders the election was the one which he made, the one of November 10 gives before the Lincoln and Johnson ticket, then the result of the general election was decided, is very good.

It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test, and a presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as good and as strong,

as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this rebellion to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows, also, how sound and how strong we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union and most opposed to treason can receive most of the people's votes. It shows, also, to the extent yet known, that we have more men now than we had when the war began. Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.

But the rebellion continues, and now that the election is over, may not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a reelection, and duly grateful, as I trust, to almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or gained by the result.

One will not fail to read with interest, as an example of Mr. Lincoln's tenderness of heart, the following letter, addressed to a poor widow of Boston, whose sixth* son, recently wounded, had died in the hospital.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 21, 1864.

MRS. BIXBY, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*The letter states that the widow was the mother of five sons.

December 8* [1864] the thirty-eighth Congress convened.

Following the plan that we have outlined we will extract fragments that are pertinent to our aim.

"Again the blessings of health and abundant harvests claim our profoundest gratitude to almighty God.

"The condition of our foreign affairs is reasonably satisfactory.

"Mexico continued to be a theatre of civil war. While our political relations with the country have undergone no change, we have at the same time, strictly maintained neutrality between the belligerents.

"Our relations are of the most friendly nature with Chili, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Paraguay, San Salvador, and Hayti. During the past year no differences of any kind have arisen with any of these republics, and on the other hand, their sympathies with the United States are constantly expressed with cordiality and earnestness.

"The receipts during the year, including loans and the balance in the treasury from last year were \$1, 394, 796.007; and the disbursements were \$1, 293, 056, 101.

"The public debt, as it appears by the books of the treasury, is on the first of May, \$1,740,690,439. The general exhibit of the navy, including vessels under construction on the first of December 1864, shows a total of 671 vessels, carrying 4610 guns, and 51,396 tons.

"There have been captured by the navy during the year, 324 vessels, and the whole number of naval captures since hostilities

* The annual message to Congress referred to here was given December 6, 1865. (Translator's note)

** "On the first day of July" is given by Nicolay and Hay. --
Lincoln's Works Vol. II p. 200. "Complete Works of Lincoln," Nicolay & Hay. (Translator's note)

commenced is 1379, of which 267 are steamers. The proceeds arising from the sale of condemned prize property has been \$14, 896, 250.

The expenditure of the Navy Department to 1865* is \$338, 647, 24. "The quantity of public land disposed of during the year was 1,221, 342 acres.

2The great enterprise of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific by railroads and telegraph lines has been entered upon with vigor.* The route of the main line of the road has been definitely located for one hundred miles westward from the initial point at Omaha City, Nebraska, to another point from Nevada to the city of Sacramento in California.*

"New discoveries of gold, silver, and copper have been added to those already known in the country occupied by the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains. It is believed that the product of the mines of precious metals in that region has reached, if not exceeded 10,000,000.

"The number of army invalid pensioners is 22,767, and of the navy 712.

"The number of widows, orphans, and mothers that have been placed on the army pension-rolls is 22,194, and 245 on the navy-rolls."

*From the fourth of March 1861 to the third of November 1865.
Wiley and Hays' Works of Lincoln-----Vol. II P. 518 (Translator's note)

**Twenty-six thousand men are actually working on this railroad
enterprises of connecting the two oceans. (Editor's note)

***And a preliminary location of the Pacific Railroad of California
has been made from St. Louis, Missouri, to the great land of Texas River,
believed to be the best route.-----Vol. II P. 511 - McAdams & Hays, Works of Lincoln.
(Translator's note)

He concluded the message with this confirmation of all his previous acts:

In presenting the Government of these States to the national authority on the part of the insurgents as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the Government, I retract nothing heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that "while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to restrain or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I withdraw or deliver any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress."

If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to emancipate or abolish slavery, whether I, must be their instrument to perform it.

In stating a single condition of peace, I wish simply to say, that the war will cease on the part of the Government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who have caused it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The United States, the cause of life immortality, and considered
 into an immense, accessible institution. It is almost every man
 whose work is done; and all of which are collected
 for the purpose of giving whatever was necessary to the health
 and comfort of the sick in the hospital. The work was done
 was not created by the United States and the United States

carried to the battle fields and received the wound on their
 numerous marches, in order that they might never themselves
 with the great at fervor to the fearful time that had been
 carried to them. You after had her over the sanitary com-
 mission house, after the comforts of the soldiers now returned to
 their homes, furnishing them with food, critical letters to their
 families, as some of them did not have any to write, having arbi-
 trarily legs and arms for the crippled, and in general endeavoring to
 give the most tender services.

For reason of the President's attending the matter, provisionally
 mentioned, the crowd that it attracted was immense; there were no
 less than fifteen thousand people assembled in the galleries and halls
 in which it took place.

After the usual mass-meeting, witnessed by the riot in a
 civil spirit there was contention, refreshments were served, and in
 reply to a toast, the President said:

June 10, 1864.--Spoken at a sanitary fair in Philadelphia,
 Pennsylvania.

I suppose that this toast was intended to open the way for
 me to say something.

War, at the best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in
 its magnitude and in its duration, is one of the most terrible.
 It has deranged business, totally in many localities, and partially
 in all localities. It has destroyed property and ruined homes;
 it has produced a national debt and a situation unprecedented, at
 least in this country; it has carried mourning to almost every
 home, until it can almost be said that the "Dewees are hanging in
 black."

Yet the war continues, and several relieving coincidences have
 accompanied it from the very beginning which have not been known,
 as I understand, or have any knowledge of, in any former war
 in the history of the world. The Sanitary Commission, with all
 its benevolent labors; the Christian Commission, with all its
 Christian and benevolent labors; and the various clubs, arrange-
 ments, so to speak, and institutions, have contributed to the
 comfort and relief of the soldiers. You have two of these
 places in this city--the Cooper Shop and Union Valance

Wassachusetts, Illinois. And little, these friends, which, I believe, become only that vastness, if I mistake not, in Chicago, then at Boston, at Cincinnati, Brooklyn, New York, and Baltimore, and there at present held at St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia. The motive and object of it is the betterment of all these are most worthy; for, say what you will, after all, the most is due to the soldier who gives his life in his hands and goes to fight the battles of his country. In what is contributed to his comfort when he comes in and fro, and in what is contributed to him when he is sick and wounded, in whatever shape it comes, whether from the fair and tender hand of woman, or from any other source, it is much, very much. But I think that there is still that which is of as much value to him in the continual remembrance he sees in the newspapers that while he is absent he is yet remembered by the loved ones at home. Another class of these various institutions, if I may so call them, is worthy of consideration, I think. They are voluntary contributions, given zealously and earnestly, on top of all the disturbances of business, of all the disorders, of all the taxation, and of all the burdens that the war has imposed upon us, giving proof that the national resources are not at all exhausted, and that the national spirit of patriotism is even fiercer and stronger than at the commencement of the war.

It is a pertinent question, often asked in the mind privately, and from one to the other, what is the war to end? Surely I feel as deep an interest in this question as any other man; but I do not wish to come a day, a month, or a year, when it is to end. I do not wish to run any risk of seeing the time pass without our being ready for the end, for fear of disappointment because the time had come and not the end. We created this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is obtained. Under God, I hope it never will end until that time. Speaking of the present campaign, General Grant is reported to have said, "I am going through on this line if it takes all summer." This war has taken three years; it was begun or accepted upon the line of restoring the national authority over the whole national domain, and for the northern people, as far as my knowledge enables me to reach, I say we are going through on this line if it takes three years more.

My friends, I did not know but that I might be called upon to say a few words before I got away from here, and I did not know it was going just here. I have never been in the habit of making resolutions in regard to the war, but I am about tempted to make one. If I were to hazard it, it is this: That Grant is this evening, with General Meade and General Hancock, and the brave officers and soldiers with him, in a position from whence he will never be dislodged until victory is there; and I have but one single proposition to put now, and perhaps I can best put it in the form of an interrogative. If I shall discover that General Grant and the noble officers and men under his command are facilitated in their work by a sudden pouring forward of men and assistance, will you give them to me? Are you ready to march? (Cries of "Yes.") When I say, stand ready, for I am watching for the chance. I thank you, gentlemen.

as a regiment of soldiers have been part of the great sacrifice on the return to their homes, they expect to find families well content to the result. ... I have come to them in this way:

August 15, 1864.--address to the 134th Ohio Regiment.

Soldiers: You are about to return to your homes and your friends, after having, as I learn, performed in every respect a comparatively short term of duty in this great contest. I am greatly obliged to you, and to all who have come forward at the call of their country. I wish it might be more generally and universally understood that the country is now engaged in. We have, as all will agree, a free government, where every man has a right to be equal with every other man. In this great struggle, this form of government and every form of human right is endangered if our nation succeeds. There is more involved in this contest than is realized by every one, there is involved in this struggle the question whether your children and my children shall enjoy the privileges we have enjoyed. I say this in order to impress upon you, if you are not already so impressed, that no small matter should divert us from our great purpose.

There may be some inequalities in the practical application of our system. It is fair that each man shall pay taxes in exact proportion to the value of his property; but if we should wait, before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collect any tax at all. There may be mistakes made sometimes; things may be done wrong, while the officers of the government do all they can to prevent mistakes. But I beg of you, as witnesses of this great struggle, not to let your minds be carried off from the great work we have before us. This struggle is too large for you to be diverted from it by any small matter. When you return to your homes, rise up to the height of a generation of men worthy of a free government, and we will carry out the great work we have commenced. I return to you my sincere thanks, soldiers, for the honor you have done me this afternoon.

And later to another regiment he said:

August 22, 1864.--address to the 134th Ohio Regiment.

Soldiers: I suppose you are going home to see your families and friends. For the services you have done in this great struggle in which we are all engaged, I present you sincere thanks for myself and the country.

I almost always feel inclined, when I happen to say anything to soldiers, to impress upon them, in a few brief remarks, the importance of success in this contest. It is

not merely for to-day, but for all time to come, that we should perpetuate for our children's children that great and free government which we have enjoyed all our lives. I beg you to remember this, not merely for my sake, but for yours. I have, temporarily, to occupy this White House. I am living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have, through this free government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise, and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations. It is for this the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthright--not only for one, but for two or three years. The nation is worth fighting for, to secure such an inestimable jewel.

Owing to a new attempt of the rebels, for a moment arrested with success, by threatening the capital and causing Grant to lose courage in his determination to resubmit Richmond, some persons, now tired of the war, made representations to the President that he listen to the propositions of the convention that Thompson, May, and others were offering, who were then in Canada, evidently commissioned by Davis for that purpose. They were permitted a brief contact through a Washington with the object of negotiating for peace, having as intermediator for this work Mr. Greeley, editor of New Tribune. All that they were able to get from Mr. Lincoln was the following circular dated July 18:

July 18, 1864--Announcement Concerning Terms of Peace.

Executive Order, Washington, July 18, 1864.

To whom it may concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the liberty of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armed forces at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the manner or measure thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

Abraham Lincoln.

This was the last attempt to divide the supporters of the administration among themselves; and the negotiators, from all appearances, were not pleased by this harsh and firm resolution of the President, who would not take a step, even by implication, toward the recognition of the rebel government.

August 29 the National Democratic Convention convened in Chicago, which had been preceded by a mass-meeting held in Syracuse, called the Peace Convention.

Finally to conciliate the different factions of the part, they nominated General McClellan as candidate for President, thinking by that they would gain the votes of the army, where he was still popular, since he desired the continuation of the war. For Vice-President Mr. Pendleton of Ohio, known, from the first, to be in favor of peace was nominated. Thus combining fire with water, the convention adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, that this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

McClellan accepted the nomination but in his letter of accept-

ance he did not mention the cessation of hostilities; and the fact that he purposely avoided making a definite statement concerning peace was far from being satisfactory to the party radicals who demanded peace at any price.

Thus there appears, in the midst of a civil war, without precedent in the history of the world, the extraordinary example... of a great people entering with fervour a political campaign that brings among other results, most important of all, the continuation of the war with all of its sufferings and encumbrances. Politicians, from Montesquieu, have attributed to Monarchies and Aristocracies exclusively the virtue of preserving through long years, and in spite of increasing difficulties, a great political purpose. Entire Europe expected that the North would be more quickly conquered by fatigue and the necessity of meeting the expenses of the war, than by the armies of the South.

The people were going to be put to a test in the re-election of Lincoln under the Baltimore platform and his known and professed inflexibility of purpose, later by a three million dollar debt, which caused them to bend down under the burden of exorbitant taxes. These same people, placing their shoulders to the support of the continuation of the war, that is to say; by new and oppressive taxes, and by the blood of their sons, have changed the ideas of the whole world concerning the power and efficiency of liberal governments, and the ability of the people to govern themselves. The republic, as a form of government, which is not only efficient for securing happiness for all and increasing prosperity in time of peace, but also, for the purpose of preserving itself in time of war, was saved in the United States by the reelection of Lincoln; henceforth

in all parts of the world. This was the test which was not believed could be endured, but was endured, in a most extraordinary manner; a test that great empires have not always withstood.

Scarcely had the Chicago convention adjourned, when the occupation of Atlanta by Sherman, and the capture of forts on Mobile Bay by Paragut's squadron, gave evidence that the war had not been fruitless up until that time, as some had believed.

Announcing the propitious news, the President requested that the people offer thanksgiving to the Supreme Being, and ask his mercies on the sick, wounded, and prisoners, and on the orphans and widows of those who had been killed in the service of their country, and pray that He will continue to uphold the Government of the United States against all the efforts of public enemies and secret foes.

Two documents pertain to this period: A letter, written by Lincoln, supporting his views concerning the Emancipation policy because of the material advantage gained through the use of two hundred thousand negroes in army service; and a speech made to a Maryland Committee denouncing certain rumors which were afloat concerning his designs in case he was not elected President.

He said, "I am struggling to maintain the government, not to overthrow it. I therefore say that if I live I shall remain President until the fourth of next March; and that whoever shall be constitutionally elected in November, shall be duly installed as President in March; and that in the interval, I shall do my utmost that whoever is to hold the helm for the next voyage shall start with the best possible chance to save the ship."

WILLIAM LILL

THE LILLIAN AND THE LILLIAN

The following reply that the President made to a committee on December 6, 1864 is an indication of his personality and humor.

December 6, 1864.--Response to a Committee.

Friends and fellow-citizens: I believe I shall never be old enough to speak without embarrassment when I have nothing to talk about. I have no good news to tell you, and yet I have no bad news to tell. We have talked of elections until there is nothing more to say about them. The most interesting news we now have is from Sherman. We all know where he went in, but I can't tell where he will come out. I will now close by proposing three cheers for General Sherman and his army.

January 24 (1865) a beautiful vase made from bits of metal that had been picked up in the battlefield at Gettysburg was presented to Lincoln. The vase had been paid for by subscription at a public sale in Philadelphia in honor of the wounded and slain in the army. The vase is a touching symbol of appreciation by the soldiers of the war. The President said:

January 24, 1865.--Reply to a Committee.

Reverend Sir, and Ladies and Gentlemen: I accept with emotions of profoundest gratitude, the beautiful gift you have been pleased to present to me. You will, of course, expect that I acknowledge it. So much has been said about Gettysburg, and so well, that for me to attempt to say more my words only serve to weaken the force of that which has already been said. A most graceful and eloquent tribute was paid to the patriotism and self-sacrificing labors of the American ladies, on the occasion of the consecration of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, by our illustrious friend, Wendell Phillips, now, alas! departed from earth. His life was a truly great one, and I think the greatest part of it was that which crowned its closing years. I wish you to read, if you have not already done so, the eloquent and truthful words which he then spoke of the women of America. Truly, the services they have rendered to the defense of our country in this perilous time, and are yet rendering, can never be estimated as they ought to be. For your kind wishes to me personally, I beg leave to thank you likewise by sincere thanks. I assure you they are reciprocated. And now, gentlemen and ladies, say God bless you all.

At the beginning of the new year the atmosphere was full of rumors concerning the desire of the rebels to negotiate for peace.

Many, not excepting a number of Mr. Lincoln's friends and supporters, were apprehensive, as they believed that "to go on it may concern" had been too abrupt. Without attempting to put themselves in the President's place in order to judge fairly, there were some who would not give up the idea that an interview with the rebel representatives would result in something definite and tangible. If there was no other result, the people would, at least, be clearly persuaded that peace could not be obtained without negotiation, except by conquering the rebels.

Mr. Lincoln also was very familiar with the desires and propositions of the leaders of the rebellion, and confident of the integrity of the Union, and, notwithstanding, determined to offer no opportunity for the creation of any such.

Apart from this, knowing that there were those who were disposed to send certain communications to the Government the terms of which the difficulties could be adjusted, and not desiring that these communications should be in violation of Mr. Lincoln's instructions, he directed Secretary Seward, giving him the following letter of instructions, dated January 21, 1865.

January 21, 1865.--Instructions to Secretary Seward.

Executive Mansion, Washington, January 21, 1865.

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State:

You will proceed to Fort Monroe, Virginia, there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Minter, and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq.,

* The reference is evidently to an announcement concerning terms of peace made by the President July 12, 1864. (*Translator's note*)

of January 13, 1865, a copy of which you have. You will make known to them that three things are indispensable--to wit:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything.

Yours, etc.,

Abraham Lincoln.

February 2, 1865, the President went to the White House, and on February 3 announced to Mr. Lincoln the presence of the Southern Agents, aboard a United States Steamer in Hampton Roads.

The conference that followed was of a character purely official, but without the assistance of secretaries, clerks, or other witnesses. Nothing was written or read. The conversation although earnest and free, was calm, and courteous, and did not get sides. The two sides partly followed the discussion of their indirect, and at no time did they either make categorical demands, or tender direct stipulations or absolute renunciations. Nevertheless, during the conference, which lasted four days, the several points at issue between the government and the insurgents were distinctly raised, and discussed fully, intelligently, and in an amicable spirit. That the insurgent party showed a desire

to favor the postponement of the question of reconstruction, upon which the war had ended, and the mutual direction of the efforts of both governments, to some definite policy or scheme, for a season, during which passions might be expected to subside, and the armies be reduced, and communications between both sections of the country resumed. The idea was suggested that through such postponement an immediate peace might be obtained, with some, although not very certain prospect of an ultimate satisfactory adjustment of political relations between the government and the separated States, or the people now engaged in the conflict.

This suggestion, though carefully considered, was nevertheless viewed by the President as impracticable, and he announced that he would not consent to any cessation or suspension of hostilities that was not based on the disarming of the insurgent forces and the reestablishment of the authority of the United States in all of the States, or submission to the propositions announced. The anti-slavery policy of the United States was affirmed from every angle, and the President made it clear that there would be no receding by him on the question of slavery from the position which he took in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding addresses. The President, further declared that the reestablishment of national authority in all of the States was a condition that must precede in agreeing to any proposals for peace that might be made. He did not neglect to assure the people that any proposition, not inconsistent with the above principles would be considered and passed upon with the greatest liberality that was. It is the power of the Executive

to exercise. These powers, however, were limited by the constitution, and when peace was made Congress had no power on the use of funds, and the limitation of representatives from the rebel states.

Immediately, the rich and representatives were notified that on January 31, Congress had adopted a resolution throughout the union. The hope was expressed that this amendment would be promptly adopted by three fourths of the states, and in this manner become an organic law of the nation.

But a lull put an end to the conference without any of the points discussed being definitely settled.

The President returned to Washington and gave an account of the conference to Congress, stating that it was evident that in order to bring about a peace that would meet the approval of the loyal men, he must appeal, not to diplomacy, but to the principles that had been gathering around Richmond.

On February 17, 1865, according to the established custom at the expiration of the presidential term, a proclamation was issued convening the Senate on March the fourth.

At that time the state of military affairs was very gratifying to the friends of the Union. Sherman was near to the very gates of Savannah, captured it, and presented it as a Christmas gift, after his extraordinary march from Atlanta, in which he had driven out the entire offensive force, cutting directly through the heart of Georgia in order to reach the Atlantic coast.

Thomas was within a few miles of Knoxville without difficulty, leaving Hood, his new antagonist, who had reinforced Johnson, and when he had overwhelmingly defeated in a battle that took place around the city, so that he did not know where he with his routed armies, might look for aid.

After letting his army rest, Sherman left Savannah, and marched on South Carolina, where, it was said by his officers, he was sure of being stuck in the swamps or swamps that abound in that region.

The truth is that he was tired, as the fields were, actually inundated; but the skillful campaigner knew how to go around the swamps or cross over them on temporary roads. He made a sudden attack on Columbia, the State capital which fell and by flanking movements reached Charleston, which was still the home of feverish treason. Being abandoned by the forces of Sumter, it fell, also.

Making a false show of marching on Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, Sherman joined a body of soldiers at Goldsboro' that had reached this point, having come from the coast, after taking Wilmington, the port used by the insubordinate veterans of the blockade. This capture made inevitable the taking by assault of Fort Fisher, which dominated the entrance to the bay.

The gravest question that the rebellion was facing at that time, was to know where to go in order to stay. Sherman immediately. Davis, compelled by his Congress to put Johnson in active service, and give the general command of the army to Lee, sent him a dispatch to head off Sherman, in case his folly should bring him to a point nearer to Richmond; a species of amuseur, one must agree, towards which he showed a marked tendency.

Sherman, also, after leaving from the Savannah valley, Early, of whom the soldiers said his principal business seemed to be to exchange Confederate currency for Yankee liquor, had been making excursions round his home at his pleasure, cutting off communications, carrying away provisions, and causing general consternation.

And the test of the bull-dog, as Grant was called, held on to its victim. Neither results, nor strong efforts, nor angry contentions were able to do more than postpone, and but for a short time, that which was inevitable.

The rebel Congress, during the last moments of its illegal session, passed a bill for the freeing of the slaves, although Davis had ironically wished them a safe and pleasant return to their homes. But now it was too late to think of slaves and their homes.

Meanwhile on March 4, 1865 at the apartment near Mr. Lincoln took the oath of office beneath the rays of a brilliant sun, that had just reappeared after a dark, cloudy morning.

From a platform erected at the east wing of the Capitol, Mr. Lincoln read, in a clear and distinct voice, his second inaugural which occupied only ten minutes.

Fellow-countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it--all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war--seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not

distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered--that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein an departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope--fervently do we pray--that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan--to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

This speech, was objected to, as was to be expected, by the most bitter complaints on the part of those whose intentions it opposed. However, one of the most cautious English newspapers, whose editor was considered one of the deepest thinkers of that country, made the following comment concerning it.

"This speech is the most remarkable state paper that has

ever come from a President of the United States from the first day of its beginning until this hour. The Alpha and Omega is the all-powerful God, the God of Justice, the Father of Mercies, who is bringing forth that which his love for humanity prompts.

There is in it dignith that raises it above all utterances of its kind, in the Old World as well as in the New. The speech as a whole brings to our memory the speeches of the superior men of the English Republic;* truly, there is in it much which reminds us of the ancient prophets."

On March 16, in virtue of an act of Congress, the following proclamation offering pardon to deserters, was issued:

Whereas the twenty-first section of the act of Congress approved on the third instant, entitled "An act to amend the several acts heretofore passed to provide for the enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," requires.

That in addition to the other lawful penalties of the crime of desertion from the military or naval service, all persons who have deserted the military or naval service of the United States who shall not return to said service, or report themselves to a Provost Marshal within sixty days after the proclamation hereinafter mentioned, shall be deemed and taken to have voluntarily relinquished and forfeited their rights of citizenship and their rights to become citizens, and such deserters shall be forever incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, or of exercising any rights of citizens thereof; and all persons who shall hereafter desert the military or naval service, and all persons who, being duly enrolled, shall depart the jurisdiction of the district in which he is enrolled, or go beyond the limits of the United States with intent to avoid any draft into the military or the naval service, duly ordered, shall be liable to the penalties of this section. And the President is hereby authorized and required forthwith, on the passage of this act, to issue his proclamation setting forth the provisions of this section, in which proclamation the President is requested to notify all deserters returning within sixty days as aforesaid, that they shall be pardoned on condition of returning to their regiments and companies, or to such other organizations as they may be assigned to, until they shall have served for a period of time equal to their original term of enlistment.

* Possibly the author is thinking of the free institutions of the country when he uses the word "Republic" in this connection. (Translator's note)

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do issue this my proclamation, as required by said act, ordering and requiring all deserters to return to their proper posts; and I do hereby notify them that all deserters who shall within sixty days from the date of this proclamation--viz., on or before the tenth day of May, 1865--return to service, or report themselves to a Provost Marshal, shall be pardoned, on condition that they return to their regiments and companies, or to such other organizations as they may be assigned to, and serve the remainder of their original terms of enlistment, and, in addition thereto, a period equal to the time lost by desertion.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eleventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER XIV

LEEDS

In the afternoon of March the twenty-third 1865 the President, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, his eldest son, and some of his friends left Washington for City Point, where a grand review was to take place. His physician had advised this trip on account of his health, which had become impaired by the great strain that his official duties had imposed upon him.

Lee had made a desperate effort to open a way for himself between the lines that surrounded him; and having made an attack on the right center, after a momentary defeat, had been driven back with a great loss of men.

Immediately afterwards, Grant believed that the time for advancing had arrived. He ordered a general movement of the troops. Petersburg fell, after three days of fighting. Richmond, subdued before the flames that devoured its magazines and half the city, was quickly abandoned; and Lee's defeated army, being continually pursued and harassed on all sides, was finally surrounded and forced to surrender.

During the progress of these movements, the President in Washington was given account of the details. He followed the army toward the abandoned city which he entered with an insufficient escort in the midst of an immense crowd of men, women, and children, blacks, whites, and mulattoes, who were passing through the streets, shouting, dancing, and waving their hats, banners, and handkerchiefs; he passed by the deserted mansion of the rebel chief in the midst of the shouts and shouts of the excited multitude -- there he made a salute; and the same night he returned to City

Point, from where he continued his journey to Washington.

Lee, restrained on all sides, submitted to the terms of capitulation that his magnanimous antagonist dictated to him. These terms which were drawn up April 9, 1865 at Appomattox Court House, where later approved by the President, and were of the following tenor:

"General Robert E. Lee of the Confederate Army:

"In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms--to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be packed and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles, and the laws in force where they may reside.

Very respectfully,

U. S. Grant,

Lieutenant-General."

Immediately attention was turned to Johnson, and Sherman marched against him.

The night following the arrival of the President in Washington the workmen from the Arsenal formed a procession and marched to the White House, in front of which thousands of people were gathered, and bands were playing. The multitude was wild with excitement.

The President was called for and appeared at the window above the door to the entrance. He was calm in the midst of the tumult, and spoke to the people in the following words, while they cheered and waved their hats in excitement:

"My friends, I rejoice exceedingly to see that affairs have turned out so successfully, that the people are not able to restrain their emotions. I suppose that arrangements are being made for some sort of formal celebration, tonight, perhaps, or tomorrow night. If such a demonstration take place, I will naturally respond to it; and will have nothing to say if you force me to speak now--

"I see that you have a band. I propose that we close the subject [of the victory], and ask that the band play a certain piece of music, or air that I believe is called "Dixie," which is the best piece of music that I have ever heard.

"It has been said that our enemies wish to keep the song for themselves. I insisted yesterday that we make it a prisoner of war.

"I submitted the question to the Attorney-General, and he gave the opinion that it is our legitimate prize. I ask that the band let us hear it."

Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to try a military campaign or have authority to give up the rebellion for any other way. We simply must begin with and hold from other kind of thinking at once. Nor is it a well-considered subject to discuss, as they would, after doing ourselves as to the odds, power, and nature of reconstruction. As far as I am, I look forward to the reports of what you are up to, wishing not to be prevented by that to which I cannot possibly offer my power. In spite of this precaution, however, it seems to my heart that I can reach a new era for our people's unity in all the good and wisdom is just in the new State government of Louisiana.

In this I have done just as much as I could for you, the public enemy. In the second meeting of December, 1864, and in the accompanying proclamation, I announced a plan of reconstruction, on the basis of peace, which I believed, if carried by any State, should be acceptable to and warranted by the revolutionary governments of the nation. I believe it at least that there was not the only alternative left possible to me at this, and I also distinctly recollect that the convention allowed no right to any man or other members except to be called to testify in Congress from a seat at this. This I remember in connection with the then Cabinet, not having been approved by every member of it. One of them suggested that I should then call in that connection only the Executive and Republican to the territories excepted parts of Virginia and Louisiana; that I should keep the suggestion that representative Government, and that I should omit the protest against my own power in regard to the admission of members to Congress. But was he approved over part and parcel of the idea, which has since been employed or traded by the action of Louisiana.

[illegible]

As to sustaining it, we should be out, as before, advised. But as last proposed, perhaps within this limit, I will first take an - and proceed, and then if however I am still convinced that indeed it is adhered to the public interest;

Now, if we r Jack and a negro man, we do not want to be dis-
 organized and alien from them. No, in effect, we do the whole man:
 You are entitled to money, we will neither make you, nor be
 helped by you. To the black we say: Take one of liberty which
 these, your old masters, will do with you. We will do it for you,
 and leave you to the chance of getting the wealth and the re-
 spected contents in some other and well-kept man, where, and how.
 If this course, disorganization and getting away from what we think,
 has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical rela-
 tions with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it.
 If, on the contrary, we recognize the fact in the new govern-
 ment of Louisiana, the demands of all sides are made true. We
 encourage the people to serve the rest of the 15,000 to adhere
 to their work, and give for it, and make for it, and
 fight for it, and stand it, and give it, and rise it to a
 equal to success. The colored man, too, in having all united
 for him, is provided with skill, and energy, and strength, to
 the work and. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will
 he not sit in it sooner by seeing the already advanced steps
 toward it than to remain behind and see them? Consider that the
 new government of Louisiana is only to that it shall be the same
 as to the fact, we shall soon have the fact by holding the
 fact than by changing it.

Again, if we reject Louisiana we also reject our vote in favor
 of the proposed amendment to the national Constitution. To meet
 this proposition it has been argued that more than three-fourths
 of these States which have not attempted secession or independence will
 ratify the amendment. I do not doubt myself against this
 further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable,
 and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by
 three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unques-
 tionable. I repeat the question: Can Louisiana be brought into proper
 practical relation with the Union, either by participating or by dis-
 joining her new State government? The fact is, Louisiana will
 apply generally to other States. And will we accept - call ratify
 participation to other States, we will not do so and we are contented if the
 whole case that we exclusive and inflexible when we safely be
 prescribed as to details and will trials. Such arrangements and
 inflexible plan would make it impossible to be accomplished. I -
 point at present a way that will be inflexible. In the present situation,
 as the direct path, it can be no other as well as the new govern-
 ment to the people of the South. I am convinced, and shall not
 fail to be clear, satisfied and action will be proper.



April 11, 1865 a proclamation appeared which repeated and confirmed previous proclamation.

It declared all ports in the States that had not recognized the authority of the United States blockaded, enumerating them one by one, and denied them the right of importation, warehousing, and other privileges, until they should be opened again by order of the President; and if while said ports are so closed, any ship or vessel from beyond the United States, or having on board any articles subject to duties shall attempt to enter any such ports, together with its cargo, tackle, and furniture, will be forfeited to the United States.

Another proclamation issued the same day declared that since certain foreign ports had refused to the vessels of war of the United States those privileges to which they were entitled by treaty, public law, and the comity of nations, at the same time that the vessels of the countries wherein such privileges have been withheld, have enjoyed these same privileges without interruption in the ports of the United States, after allowing a reasonable time for the proclamation to be made known, the United States, notwithstanding "whatever claim or pretense may have existed heretofore, are now, at least, entitled to claim and concede an entire and friendly equality of rights and hospitalities with all maritime nations."

One may easily understand the attitude of the administration concerning the state of affairs, by the following official bulletin issued by the War Department on April the thirteenth:

"After careful consideration and consultation with the Lieutenant-General in regard to the results of the recent cam-

paign, the following determination has been reached, which will go into effect immediately after the orders have been received:

"First, To suspend all drafting and recruiting in the loyal States;

"Second, To limit the buying of arms, munitions, material of war, and provisions, and to reduce the expenses of the military service in the various branches;

"Third, To reduce the number of generals and officials of high rank to the actual needs of the service;

"Fourth, To remove all military restrictions on traffic and commerce, in cases where public safety permits it.

"As soon as these measures can be placed in execution, there will be communications for public orders.

"Edwin M. Stanton,

Secretary of War."

CHAPTER LXX THE LAST DAY

In the morning of April 14, 1865, after an interesting conversation with his eldest son, Captain Robert Lincoln, then an aide-de-camp on Grant's staff, concerning the surrender of Lee, the details of which he knew perfectly, Mr. Lincoln hearing that the speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Schuyler Collier, was in the Executive Mansion, invited him into the drawing room, in order to have a conversation with him. For an hour the President talked to him in regard to his future policy concerning the rebellion. He was, also, going to submit the question to the Cabinet (which was to meet later that morning).

After an interview with Mr. Hale, the newly appointed minister to Spain, and, likewise, other interviews with various Senators and Representatives, the Cabinet as usual at eleven o'clock. General Grant was present at the session, which was one of the most important and satisfactory that had been held during Lincoln's presidency. The future policy of the administration was unanimously agreed to; and when the Ministerial Council adjourned, the Secretary of War reported that the Government had not been so strong since the beginning of the war.

It is noted that during the conference the President turned to General Grant and asked him if he had heard from Sherman. The General answered that he had not, but that he was expecting hourly to receive assistance from him, concerning the surrender of Johnston.

"Well," said the President, "you will hear very soon now and the news will be important."

"Why do you think so?" Grant replied.

"Because," said the President, "I had a dream last night; and ever since the war began, I have invariably had the same dream before any important military event occurred." He then cited the battles of Bull Run, Antietam, Vicksburg, etc., and said that before each of those events, he had had the same dream; and turning to the Secretary of the Navy, he said: "It is in your line, too, Mr. Allen. The dream is, that I saw a ship sailing very rapidly; and I am sure that it foretells some important national event."

In the late afternoon he had a long quiet conversation with some eminent citizens from Illinois.

Subsequently he had an interview with Mr. Gelfert and Mr. Johnson, the latter of whom had been the presiding officer of the Chicago Convention in 1860, which had nominated Lincoln for President. During the course of the conversation Lincoln's visit to Richmond was discussed, and one of the gentlemen said that there had been great apprehension in the North that some traitor might assassinate him, while he was in the rebel capital. To this remark Lincoln sportively replied that he should have been alarmed also, and may never have been President and had gone there; but as it was, he felt no fear of danger whatever.

The possibility of his being assassinated had occurred to Mr. Lincoln, but the thought did not worry him for an instant. A member of his cabinet had said to him one day: "Mr. Lincoln, you are not careful enough. There are many bad men in Washington. Has it not occurred to you, that among the rebels are those who might attempt to kill you?"

The President turned to his desk and took from a drawer a package of letters. "Each one of these letters, that you see, contain a threat to assassinate me," he said. "I would live in a state of continual alarm, if I would dwell on this subject; but I have reached the determination, that there are opportunities to kill me every day of my life, if there are persons who are disposed to do it. It is not possible to live without being exposed to that danger; and I will think no more of it."

The same night, discussing business affairs with Mr. Sumner, Lincoln noticed, with surprise that Mr. Sumner had taken offense at a remark he had made, and said immediately: "You, did not understand me Sumner. I did not mean what you inferred. I take it all back and ask your pardon."

Lincoln then gave Mr. Sumner a card, which was to admit him and a friend for an interview the next day.

Turning to Mr. Colfax, he said, "You will accompany Mr. Lincoln and me to the theatre, I hope."

Beforehand, the President and General Grant had accepted an invitation to attend Ford's Theatre that night, but Grant was obliged to leave for the North. Mr. Lincoln did not want to disappoint the audience as his going had been announced in the newspapers, so fulfilled his engagement.

Mr. Colfax declined the invitation extended by the President, as he had other engagements. Mr. Lincoln said to him: "Mr. Sumner has the gavel" of the Confederate Congress, which he

* In North American and English assemblies the presiding officer uses a gavel, instead of a bell, to call the house to order. (Author's Note)

Mr. Johnson alluded to the jewel that he had used at the Chicago Convention, and said that it was still in his possession.

A half hour after the time that they should have gone to the theatre Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln left; Mr. Lincoln, very reluctantly, as he would have preferred staying at home half hour longer.

In the door he stopped and said: "Friend, do not forget to tell the people of the leading regions that I told you this morning about the development when peace comes, 'I will send you a telegram at San Francisco.'"

Shaking hands with both gentlemen and bidding them good-night, the President and his lady left for the theatre.

The box that they were to occupy was on the second balcony, near the stage, to the right of the orchestra seats, and its entrance was by a door that opened into the adjoining corridor. The person who had entered the conspiracy to assassinate Lincoln, took great precaution in order that he would not be seen. Having entered, unseen by the guard, he stood in the dark corridor where wall made a noisy noise with the door. Hereafter, the assassin had gouged a hole into the wall, and placed a strong glass pane near by, which later he put between the wall and the door facing.

In this manner having located the entrance, he constructed the other doors of the President's box; there were two; since there was a partition which divided the box.

The door at the end of the passage was open, and the one nearest to the assassin was closed. Two doors had been arranged so that they would yield to the lightest pressure if it was necessary to use them. The assassin came to the inside door of the box, in which he had bored a hole in order that he might

see what was happening on the inside.

After having bolted the door, as previously described, he discovered the occupants of the box were seated in the following order. The President was in an armchair on the side nearest the stage, Mrs. Lincoln was next to him; at the further end Miss Clara Harris was seated in the corner nearest the orchestra, and Major Rathbone was on a sofa near the wall.

The comedy, "Our American Cousin," was being presented. While all were watching the performance, a pistol shot was the first to announce the presence of the assassin, who shouts the word "Liberty" and runs toward the front of the box. Major Rathbone seeing the assassin through the smoke, grappled with him. The latter let fall the pistol, and thrust a dagger at Major Rathbone's breast, but the blow was received in the upper part of his arm.

The criminal made a leap of twelve feet from the box to the stage, falling on his knees, as one of his spurs had caught in the flags with which the President's box had been decorated.

Quickly rising to his feet, he brandished his dagger, shouting "Eic semper tyrannis!" "The South is revenged." Instantly he ran through the passage to the rear of the theatre where he was vainly pursued, and leaped upon his horse which was being held a few feet from the back door of the building.

Hardly a minute passed between the assassination and the assassin's escape. Only one person followed him in his flight, but he was soon lost to view.

When the significance of the shot was realized. Dr. Lincoln received the shot in the back of his head, behind the left ear, the bullet passing in a oblique line to the right ear. He

remained unconscious to the end; he did not recognize his friends or give any sign of pain. Immediately, he was carried to a house in front of the theatre, and there he died the next morning, April 15, 1865, surrounded by the principal members of his cabinet, and other friends, from whom the tragic scene wrung bitter tears. Mrs. Lincoln and her son Robert were in the adjoining room. Mrs. Lincoln was prostrate with grief but her son retained sufficient self-possession to try to comfort her. The family was now composed of a disconsolate widow and two sons. A little after nine o'clock the body of the President, accompanied by an escort, was removed to the White House.

Thus ended the earthly career of Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States, in the early part of his fifty-sixth year, and at the beginning of his second presidential term.

However, he did not fall until he had abundantly fulfilled the promises of his first inaugural address; promises which many believed impossible of realization.

The power that was given to him he used successfully to preserve the character of the United States and to protect its property. Not a single Federal fort, to the hour of its downfall, showed any signs of disloyalty. The day of Lincoln's death the old Union flag had been raised to float in the breeze over Fort Sumter, by the same hands that four years before had been forced to lower it before the arrogance of the traitors; and the act was accompanied by a celebration befitting the occasion. The friends of human liberty, without distinction of color or race walked through the streets of Charleston, now a city of desolation--a miserable skeleton of what it once was--rejoicing since that which had been asked of God had come to

ness. Liberty was not national; and slavery was only a memory of the past.

When he fell, the nation was forced by the cruel necessities of a bloody war to perform its solemn duties. Measures for gradual emancipation were considered, but did not prove satisfactory as emancipation was proclaimed as a military necessity only; hence public opinion was now in favor of an amendment to the Constitution, which would prohibit forever the converting of human beings into property.

When he fell, already, that army of traitors, which had called itself a Country, had been scattered, so that its whereabouts was not known. Its principal army had been taken and its soldiers made prisoners of war and the rest of its forces were forced to surrender. Before his tragic death, the glory of sending words of congratulation to the nation from the rebel capital, and from the mansion of the rebel leader, had fallen to the lot of Mr. Lincoln.

The sad news spread throughout the land like flashes of lightning.

"The President has been shot.--The President is dying--he is dead."

When the terrible news reached the ears of the people strong men wept--and women and children joined them in their grief. Grief came spontaneously from the hearts of the people, and over the vast extent of the United States manifestations of it were made. Houses were draped in black; flags were at half-mast; business concerns were closed; and the picture of the beloved President, now dead, was soon draped in black in the streets and on the fronts of every citizen.

If the day in which the first news of the disaster spread over the country was sad, greater sadness was that which filled the hearts of the patriotic citizens. It was as if chaos with its accompanying shadows had reappeared.

Meanwhile the body of the dead President, lay in state in the Capitol surrounded by all the honors of his position.

The nineteenth of April was a cloudy oppressive day; had it not been for the early green leaves on the trees, the freshness of spring, and the first songs of the birds, it would have reminded one of the "pleasant summer days of San Juan," so delightful to a native of that country. Such was the day on which the funeral rites of Abraham Lincoln were celebrated in the National City.

Over the entire country cannon boomed continually, business was suspended, and every one prayed, cursing the hour whose bitterness they were hoping might pass away.

It is the custom of that nation that high public officials return to their particular states from the capitol when the term of their public office has expired. No President was ever buried in Washington and the family of Lincoln resolved to carry the remains to their home in Illinois, which the President elect had left four years ago for Washington; returning by the same route that he had followed on the way to occupy his position.

The funeral train passed through the largest cities of the Union, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, etc., no nation has ever presented a greater or more solemn spectacle than this journey, unless it be the entrance into France of the remains of Napoleon removed from Saint Helena.

As the procession moved on, those who for pure curiosity

or party feeling had met Lincoln's train in 1861, were not waiting for it by the thousands attracted by sentiments of reverence and profound grief. They came in order to scatter flowers along the road and to sing hymns. They burst into sobs and lamentations in which the grief of twenty-five million human beings was expressed.

As a peculiarity which results from the double American institution, we will give here the order of the procession that accompanied the remains from the White House to the Capitol.*

The rail-roads having been taken over for military use, the coffin and special cortege that accompanied it left Washington April 22 [1865] and arrived at Springfield May 3, passing through the following important cities: Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago, to Springfield.

In all of these cities civil and municipal authorities waited for the cortege with ceremonies appropriate to the occasion. There were, also, great processions of whose magnitude one can form an idea, knowing that Philadelphia has six hundred thousand inhabitants, New York and its suburbs a million, and that there is a network of rail-roads which make it possible for people from great distances to gather in these cities, anxious to render a last tribute to the memory of the great citizen.

* Sereno gives in detail the funeral escort in column of march, which I do not think necessary to include in this edition. (*Translator's note*)

In Philadelphia the coffin was placed in Independence Hall, where there was placed over it this simple and tender inscription:

"To the Memory Of Our Beloved President, By the Women Of The Sanitary Commission of The United States."

The statue of Washington and the portraits of William Penn, Lafayette and Girard decorated the salon.

Near the coffin was another inscription:

"Before every great national event I have had the same dream. I had it last night. I saw a ship sailing very rapidly."

The funeral services were held in Springfield May 7* (1865). Afterwards the remains were conveyed to Oak Ridge Cemetery, and were placed in a vault prepared for that purpose. The vault was at the foot of a beautiful knoll which was covered by trees of various kinds. It had a Greek fronton resting on pilasters, and the main wall was of rough stone, which had been brought from the sandstone quarry at Joliet, Illinois.

Here, all that remains on earth of Abraham Lincoln, rests beneath the shade of the forests.

Immortal Chieftain! Hail And Farewell!

* May 4.

Chapter XXVI

The Penalty

The violent disappearance of Mr. Lincoln from a political scene as brilliant as that which had been prepared in Washington by the outcome of Government affairs, and this when the final act of the drama of the rebellion was seen coming with the haste that a building whose foundation has been undermined tumbles to the ground, would end his biography, if we did not add subsequent incidents in order to complete the story, according to the custom of the novelists who tell what becomes of each of the characters in their imaginary history.

Instantly, another, no less notable and more ardent defender if that is possible, of the principles that triumphed by the sword, took his place at the helm of a ship, abandoned in a moment of confusion by the helmsman, who had been wounded by an act of vengeance, when the memorable proceedings cast a blot on so brilliant a page of history.

The Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, according to the provision of the Republican Constitution concerning the succession of the Presidency, which is analogous to the law of succession in Monarchies, became the President a few hours after the incident in order to take up the work at the point where his predecessor had left it, and to bring it to a successful end.

To the great surprise of those in Europe who had little respect for Republican institutions, and had from one disillusion or another an easy retreating from one position to another were expecting this great test to be one that would not be withstood, the administrative machinery was seen the following day

[illegible][illegible]

"If you are as good as your word, I will give you my vote for the Presidency."

But as the day drew near, and the election was at hand, the people of the State began to feel that the result would be decided by the vote of the people. The people of the State began to feel that the result would be decided by the vote of the people. The people of the State began to feel that the result would be decided by the vote of the people.

The result of the election was decided by the vote of the people. The result of the election was decided by the vote of the people. The result of the election was decided by the vote of the people. The result of the election was decided by the vote of the people.

As a representative of the people, it is the duty of the people to elect a representative of the people. As a representative of the people, it is the duty of the people to elect a representative of the people. As a representative of the people, it is the duty of the people to elect a representative of the people.

ctor in contemporary historical research.

In 1860, Representative John Johnson introduced to the House a bill denouncing that the Vice of a thousand dollars which had been loaned to General Jackson by a New Orleans Judge, he returned to him with interest, Johnson as Commander General of the army had had the Judge arrested while the country was under martial law. The Judge resisted the arrest and fined Jackson for his acts. This bill as introduced by Johnson, was passed by Congress.

The Representative who in time of peace, with the Government in the hands of his political adversaries, had revoked, thirty years afterwards, a judicial sentence that restrained the powers of his associates in time of war, had gone to the prison-house, for a rebellion, twenty years later, and bowed his public administration by the following order."

The same night of the assassination it was believed that John Wilkes Booth, a young actor at Ford's Theatre was the assassin. Booth, remarkably handsome, several 17 years, and fascinating in manner, was the son of a celebrated English actor. Perhaps his habit of playing heroic roles heightened his inclination to the act that he believed himself a noble Brutus, to offer is justified the execution of a noble form.

[illegible]

His "old" power by which he had come to inherit it, if it were not the will of the Almighty God of Heaven. But as if these conditions and promises of earthly things had been removed by his blood-bought inheritance, this time the feet of rebellion were anchored with the chains of gold, and the feet of the rebels of the Fall, which it was for him to place the feet of. He then followed the trail of the original with the original, and after a variable military career, he is mentioned in a book where he had taken refuge. He had been killed and it was necessary to get him to the building of the rebellion. He always carried with a rifle, and on a certain day his numerous weapons, and also the fact that it was a book which was disappeared by one of the rebels who was looking through a crack in the barn. In his army books did not utter a word concerning his plan and his movements.

When the military Tribunal was installed, the accounts received began to give an account of a terrible conspiracy, that for a long time had been plotted against the life of the uniformed President. There was also evidence that this conspiracy was not only of individuals in particular, but was one of the principal aims of the rebellion.

In a speech of March the 18th, General Dix mentioned the European for the first time, and he, recalled that the proclamation of slavery in the world was the greatest wrong of the South; that the spirit of rebellion was caused by

* This speech was probably made in 1864 or 1865. (Translator's note)

Mexican war was the inspiration of the South; that Fillmore-
 erism was the attempt of the North to organize; and that the
 destruction of the Union had been undertaken by the South.
 He might have added to this accusation that at Dallas even the
 fact that some of the leading men of the North, such as
 as the friends of Mr. Fillmore, were now in the hands of the
 of a political view; the attempt to burn New York, setting
 fire to it in four instances; the 15th March 1861, the
 introduction of yellow fever to Kansas by infected cattle; the
 the assassination of the President, General Fremont, and
 the will not to let the institution of the colored man, but to
 but by the same time that the colored man was not to be
 is seen in the case of Fillmore and the Union that in 1861
 in support of a man who had been a foe to the
 Catholic religion.

From the statements of the witnesses it was found that
 the Union had organized the plan of filling the South, Vice-
 President, General Fremont, and the Government of the
 war. At the same time that the Union was organized, the
 Mr. Fremont was elected as the first man of the Union.
 His son, a merchant, and his son-in-law were
 also members of the Union. The Union was organized in
 virtue of the Union. At the same time the Union was
 but it was later found that the Union was not the
 the Union was organized in 1861, and the Union was

*In the year 1861, the Union was organized in 1861, and the Union was

returned to his wife. Without a hint of emotion, even at his execution, he died as a martyr. The original who excited the greatest interest was Mrs. Barrett, a widow of about forty-five years of age, and a Catholic, possessed the most remarkable life. The wife of a poor shoemaker, and devoted to her religious duties. North had seen her house the day after the execution. She stated and promised the fact that she had used for her dress, which later proved to be the same. North in fact of this fact was told to be of the fact.

Barrett, a widow of forty years, was an excellent in the crime but was unreliable, cowardly, and incapable of carrying out his part of the plot.

Barrett, who was even more interested than Barrett had also been brought into the scheme by North. He confessed all details concerning the first plan of abduction the President and carrying him to the South, before the surrender of Lee. Doctor for the case of this was a minor accomplice to the crime. He took Barrett into his house, set his room for him, and gave him the money for his room. He had told Barrett to North and found in his possession. Barrett had known nothing of the plot, but his connection with the original was clear.

Barrett and Dr. Barrett were inferior agents. However, each one of them had played a certain part of the execution.

Evidence was given to prove that certain persons from the rebel ranks who were known in Canada had aided in the plot. The criminals had received money from them in return for their services.

for their acts and motives of the relation between these persons and the Government at Richmond it was believed to be an necessary to the crime.

The trial of the criminals lasted for two months and required incessant labour. Daily publicity was given to the evidence as the only means of convincing the public of the justice of the proceedings.

According to the English custom of trying criminals the scene in the court room was one of the most solemnity. The defendants occupied a bench in the court room; and a guard stood beside each of them.

The Tribunal was composed of nine men who were at the front, tables were provided for them, for their clerks and stenographers, among who there was one woman. The attorney-General and his assistant were near the judges. The public occupied a part of the room which was divided from the judges by a railing. The curious closely watched the motions of the criminals; those who knew them pointed them out to others who had recently arrived. Mrs. Barrett had a veil over her face, and was in an attitude of resignation. Some looked at all the conjectures. Recently she had been diagnosed as the woman by a fictitious name. He appeared stupid, nevertheless, he spoke correctly. Perpetually indifferent to all that happened, he seemed to be bored at the long speech of the trial. He failed to smile at the error of the charges; but he was reviled, and attentive to other incidents.

The other criminals were too anxious to suppress any emotions that would attract attention. The witnesses, when the

lawyers questioned in order to give information concerning the
 dead or to clear the principals of the charges if possible,
 testified against them.

On the other hand lawyers and citizens made a plea for
 the principals; the lawyers in turn, the prosecution attorneys,
 and those of the defense made reference to precedents.

The court finally decided the question. Negroes and
 people of color were not allowed to act as witnesses; Catholic
 Priests testified to the religious character of Mrs. Barrett.

Finally the case was finished and the verdict was
 pronounced May 7, 1865. Mrs. Barrett, Payne, Harold, and
 Atterton were sentenced to be hanged; but the other principals
 were given life-imprisonment. The sentence was approved by
 the President the same day and the following day was set by
 him for the execution.

The next day Mrs. Barrett's attorney presented a
 petition before the Supreme Court asking that a writ of
 "Habeas Corpus" be issued to his client. The writ was granted
 by Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of
 Columbia.

After various incidents that increased public excitement,
 General Hancock, chief of the Military District of Washington
 wrote to Judge Syllie as follows:

* The subject includes the letter written by Hancock to Judge
 Syllie referring to the writ on the ground that it was
 improper.

He also gives the President's order concerning the writ. (Translator's note)

The Court did not insist on the question of the extent of the jurisdiction of the Court was questioned.

The Attorney-General made the distinction between civil and military jurisdiction, showing the impossibility of the Government confining to the common law in time of war.

The Archbishop of Baltimore asked that Mrs. Barrett's execution be postponed for three days in order that extreme unction be administered to the condemned woman and to the rites of the Catholic Church. The President immediately denied the request, declaring that the case of Mrs. Barrett had been carefully considered, and that there was no reason why it should be postponed.

The execution was executed and the body remained for hours hanging from the gallows, before it was taken down. Mrs. Barrett's body was taken to the hospital and she died on April 14, 1865, at 11 o'clock.

Chapter XXVII

A Military Review-Reconstruction

General Sherman having forced General Johnson to surrender granted to him more generous terms of capitulation than Grant had offered to Lee. The terms guaranteed that the Commanding officers would not be brought to trial.

The President rejected the terms of surrender, and maintained that Sherman had gone beyond the limits of his military authority, and ordered that Johnson be allowed the same terms that had been granted to Lee, which were accepted by Johnson.

The Civil War came to an end with this surrender, although General Kirby Smith with some rebel forces was still being pursued in Texas. Later these forces were subdued, also.

The President declared by proclamation that the war was at an end; and as the troops had been discharged, (the adjutant-general) ordered a grand review of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of the West. Troops, two hundred thousand strong, were to go to Washington and march in review before the President, General Grant, and the Diplomatic Corps. Let us mention here, that this scene which took place May 23 and 24 [1865] was in the manner of a coronation of the work that was accomplished by the Lincoln Administration.

It might be said, that by this display of its strength the United States took possession of the recently acquired

rank of a military nation of first order, among the most powerful nations of the world; a rank to which it had not aspired, nevertheless conceded it by general consent, today.

Taking into consideration the number of soldiers, the glory that had been recently acquired in so gigantic a war, and the excellence of the arms and artillery, this parade in Washington is one of the greatest events of the century.

Pennsylvania Avenue is a street about fifty feet in width and more than three miles in length, shaded by rows of beautiful trees. At one end of this avenue the dome of the capitol rises, lending majesty to the scene; and to the side is the White House, the Executive Mansion, surrounded by spacious gardens.

In front of the Capitol and opposite the statue of Jackson which was occupied by the President, his Cabinet, General Grant, and the Diplomatic Corps, in which at this time eight South-American Republics were represented.

The Generals of the divisions of the army, dismounted before the reviewing stand to salute the President and to receive his congratulations. Here the people who were on the platform and those who could find a place between the divisions of the army as they marched, had the opportunity of viewing the large placid features of Grant, so simple in appearance. They, also, saw Sherman, Meade, Blunt, and others whose names had been carried on the wings of fame around the world.

Aside from the great impression caused by seeing at one

time two hundred thousand human souls, which represented the manhood, the heroism, and the glory of a free nation, and displayed its virtues and strength in the support of a just cause and human progress, the Washington review was not ostentations. There were no brilliant uniforms or glittering decorations.

Only the polished steel of the bayonets broke the rays of the sun: republican austerity was represented by the simplicity of the uniforms of the soldiers. The highest rank of the military hierarchy was designated by three small stars on the shoulders, instead of epauletts and embroidery. But the people knowing the military record of each army, of each division, of each regiment in the campaigns which had left the map of the South marked with as many battles as there were cities and towns on it, repeated the name of the divisions and saluted the commanding officer of each one. However, one decoration was displayed at the front of each regiment, which attracted more sympathetic glances than the gold embroidery of great marshals would have attracted; a flag, or something that had been a flag, torn almost in shreds, sometimes fringed, sometimes not, on a simple staff.

This sight brought to the memory of the spectators the bloody battles in which the flags had fluttered and had been torn to pieces, and made them think of the thousands of men that had fallen around them.

The army was two days in passing; the soldiers having rations at the same time. A torrent of bayonets, swiftly

moving cavalry, and a cascade of cannon went streaming by.

With the coming of peace the communications of the South were reestablished, and thousands after having been present at the grand review, went toward other scenes which produced different emotions; the ruins of Richmond, burned, but still unconquerable, with its formidable circle of railroads; the inspection of Grant's camp, besieging Petersburg and tightening its iron claws around it more and more each day, until the city, riddled by bullets, and as if it were in a vice. Around the city were those who had not yet been buried among the detritus of helmets, furniture, broken guns, pieces of clothing and the heads and arms that had been cut off by the grape-shot.

After establishing commercial restations and raising the blockade of the Southern ports, the president reproduced the proclamation of amnesty of his predecessor. Since those whom they favored had disregarded the proclamations he modified them, but added to the list of previous exceptions all of those persons who had voluntarily taken part in the rebellion, and whose property would be valued for the payment of the debt of more than twenty million dollars, and those who had taken the oath required by the former amnesty proclamation, or the oath of allegiance to the United States, and had later violated the said oath. Those coming under the exceptions, ask the president in person that they be pardoned, if clemency in each case would be compatible with the peace and dignity of the United States. Thousands sought for pardon and hundreds received it.

The description of those acts which completed the work of

the unfortunate President would not be finished, if laying aside all those things which are inferred from the case, we do not give an account of the reconstruction proclamation of North Carolina tried by the new President who changing it where it needed changing reproduced it for the other States. Andrew Johnson assumed the position that the rebel States had never been out of the Union, and on that foundation he established his reconstruction plan.

"Whereas the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States declares that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion and domestic violence; and

"Whereas the President of the United States is by the Constitution made Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, as well as Chief Civil executive officer of the United States and is bound by solemn oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and to take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and

"Whereas the rebellion which has been waged by a portion of the people of the United States against the properly constituted authorities of the Government thereof in the most violent and revolting form, but whose organized and armed forces have now been entirely overcome, has in its revolutionary progress deprived the people of the State of North Carolina of all civil government; and

"Now, therefore, in obedience to the high and solemn duties imposed upon me by the Constitution of the United States and for

the purpose of enabling the loyal people of said States to organize a State government whereby justice may be established, domestic tranquility insured, and loyal citizens protected in all their rights of life, liberty, and property, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, do hereby appoint William W. Holden Provisional Governor of the State of North Carolina, whose duty it shall be, at the earliest practicable period, to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper for convening a convention, composed of delegates to be chosen by that portion of the people of the said State who are loyal to the United States, and no others, for the purpose of altering or amending the Constitution thereof, and with authority to exercise within the limits of the State, all the powers necessary and proper to enable such loyal people of the State of North Carolina to restore said State to its constitutional relations to the Federal Government and to present such a republican form of State Government as will entitle the State to the guarantee of the United States therefor and its people to the protection by the United States against invasion, insurrection, and domestic violence: Provided, that in any election that may be hereafter held for choosing delegates to any State Convention as aforesaid no person shall be qualified as an elector, or shall be eligible as a member of such convention unless he shall have previously taken the oath of amnesty as set forth in the President's proclamation of May 29, A. D. 1865, and is a voter qualified as prescribed by the Constitution and laws of the State of North Carolina,

in force immediately before the 20th day of May, 1861, the date of the so-called ordinance of secession; and the said convention when convened, or the Legislature that may be thereafter assembled, will prescribe the qualification of electors, and the eligibility of persons to hold office under the Constitution and laws of the State--a power the people of the several States composing the Federal Union have rightfully exercised from the origin of the Government to the present time.

"And I do hereby direct--"First. That the military Commander of the department and all officers and persons in the military and naval service aid and assist the said Provisional Governor in carrying into effect this proclamation; and they are enjoined to abstain from in any way hindering, impeding, or discouraging the loyal people from the organization of a State Government as herein authorized.

"Second. That the Secretary of State proceed to put in force all laws of the United States, the administration whereof belongs to the State Department applicable to the geographical limits aforesaid.

"Third. That the Secretary of the Treasury proceed to nominate for appointment assessors of taxes and collectors of customs and internal revenue and such other officers of the Treasury Department as are authorized by law and put in execution the revenue laws of the United States within the geographical limits aforesaid. In making appointments the preference shall be given to qualified loyal persons residing within the district where their respective duties are to be performed; but if suitable residents of the districts shall not be found

then persons residing in other States or districts shall be appointed.

"Fourth. That the Postmaster General proceed to establish post offices and post routes and put into execution the postal laws of the United States within the said State, giving to loyal residents the preference of appointment.

"Fifth. That the district judge for the judicial district in which North Carolina is included proceed to hold courts within said State in accordance with the provisions of the act of Congress. The Attorney General will instruct the proper officers to label and bring to judgment, confiscation and sale property subject to confiscation and enforce the administration of justice within said State in all matters within the cognizance and jurisdiction of the Federal Courts.

"Sixth. That the Secretary of the Navy take possession of all public property belonging to the Navy Department within said geographical limits and put in operation all acts of Congress in relation to naval affairs having application to the said State.

"Seventh. That the Secretary of the Interior put in force the laws relating to the Interior Department, applicable to the geographical limits aforesaid....."

1890

With these complementary notes [I have alluded to in the last chapter] that great change in the history of the United States came, and, moreover, a new epoch of world history began.

and may be said to be the only request to a successful
and simple that seemed to be an opportunity to, without report-
ing to another person, raised himself from a humble position, in
the heart of the most ordered and civilized, to the highest
position of one of the most profoundly civilized of the world.
This would not have been possible, if, however, he had
not been the recipient of a gift, a precious gift, and
a precious gift, in the gift, of simply the power of
controlling himself.

The course of our civilization were too well marked in American history, with a mass of difficulties from the beginning, as we said. positively no one was ever more severely attacked, or exposed with more bitterness; no one more fully so; and yet, we are protected, a state which had not happened since the time of Babylon. and why can be resigned?

that shall be any of them or a substitute. Only that we
know the confidential structure has security from 1948 to

1000, and that during the four years of the ship, it is only at
one time; - the whole of the voyage was not finished
possibly. That is the only answer. So none the less, the
the importance of a full and complete knowledge of the
the. Under it is the only; which, on the contrary, is
to each one the part, as left the collective. Therefore, the
being, were learned, after several and some kind
consideration, as the there were that he was on his first day
and not the same. And that is the only way to find the
the in the way.

[illegible]

life was in danger, just as that of the soldier on the battle field, he never trembled, he did not weaken, he did not compromise, he did not go back on his word, he did not apologize, but stuck to his course with that rare inflexibility, as great as the confidence that he inspired. Others doubted, he did not doubt. He saw the goal that he and the nation must reach. His mission as President, as he so often repeated, was to save the Union: and the Union was saved.

The characteristics of the man are prominent in the statesman. Let us recall briefly the main events of his life as he gave them to the author of the "Dictionary of Congress:"

Born, February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky.

Education defective.

Profession, a lawyer.

Have been a captain of volunteers in the Black and Tan.

Secretary of a very small office.

Four times a member of the Illinois legislature, and was a member of the lower house of Congress, Iowa, etc.,

Abraham Lincoln.

His principal points of honor were his trust in God, his faith in the future of the Union, his profound conviction of the equality of mankind. His language reached grandiloquence only when speaking of the preservation of the Union and those famous principles of the Declaration of Independence, which according to him were written for all humanity.

At a celebration on the battlefield at Gettysburg he suggested this thought:

November 19, 1863.—Address at the Dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery.

Four score and seven years ago our Fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate--we cannot consecrate--we cannot hallow--this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us--that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Speaking in Independence Hall he says:

February 22, 1861.--Address in Independence Hall,
Philadelphia.

Mr. Cuyler: I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to our distracted country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here and framed and adopted that Declaration. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved on that basis? If it can,

I will consider myself one of the few who are in the world if I can help to save it. If it must be saved upon that condition, it will be truly worth it. But if this country must be saved without placing on that principle, I am about to say I would rather be annihilated on this side than surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect of things, there is no need of bloodshed and war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I hope we are in danger that there will be no bloodshed while it is forced upon the government. The government will not use force, unless force is used against it.

On Friday, this is really an extraordinary speech. I did not expect to be called on to say more when I came here. I expected I was going to do something for a religious cause. I say, however, that I am as strong and indignant. (Cries of "Yes, yes.") But I was not willing but what I am willing to die for, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die for.

How does he define the Republic while speaking of the struggle with the South?

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men--to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend.

To congress he said:

Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled--the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains--its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections.

From the distant heights to where his vision guided by his heart looked into the future, posterity will return to him its sympathy, and will judge him by the importance of his acts and the heroism of his sacrifice. An African civilization, which already may be seen indistinctly from the moral and intellectual heights of Liberia, in Monrovia, the modest Junior Republic, will erect statues to the white liberator of their race, which had been banished four thousand years.

Hidden beneath a jovial spirit was more of melancholy and sadness than Lincoln permitted to be seen. In spite of his attempt to appear cheerful in those days of anguish through which he passed, while the outcome of affairs was so uncertain and obscure, his countenance revealed the depth of his anxiety.*

* The editor of the Spanish edition said for this translation gives the following note.

"The book was with a view of an original author, according to the author (J. F. F. friends), which was translated (from Spanish) by J. F. F. friends, then Secretary of the American Legation, and another book by General Juan Manuel de Rosas."



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